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THE

HISTORY

OF

HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM

THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES.

BY

THE REVEREND WILLIAM BELOE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

1395

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

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BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

CHAP. I.

ON receiving this anſwer from the Athenians, the ambaſſadors returned to Sparta. As ſoon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the determination of the Athenians, he moved from Theſſaly, directing by rapid marches his courſe towards Athens. Wherever he came, he furniſhed himſelf with ſupplies of troops. The princes of Theſſaly were ſo far from repenting of the part they had taken, that they endeavoured ſtill more to animate Mardonius. Of theſe, Thorax [1] of La-

[1] *Thorax.*]—He was the ſon of Aleuas, and with his two brothers Eurypylus and Thraſydeius, were remarkable for their attachment to Xerxes.—*T.*

rissæ[2], who had attended Xerxes in his flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece.

II. As soon as the army in its progress arrived at Bœotia, the Thebans received Mardonius. They endeavoured to persuade him to fix his station where he was, assuring him that a place more convenient for a camp, or better adapted for the accomplishment of the purpose he had in view could not be found. They told him, that by staying here he might subdue the Greeks without a battle. He might be satisfied, they added, from his former experience, that as long as the Greeks were united, it would be impossible for any body of men to subdue them. "If," said they, "you will be directed by "our advice, you will be able, without difficulty, "to counteract their wisest counsels. Send a sum "of money to the most powerful men in each city; "you will thus create anarchy in Greece, and by "the assistance of your partizans, easily overcome "all opposition."

III. This was the advice of the Thebans, which he was prevented from following[3], partly by his earnest

[2] *Larissæ.*]—There were several cities of this name in Asia and in Europe. Strabo remarks, that it was something peculiar to the Larissæi, both of Europe and Asia, that the ground or soil of their settlements was alike in three places, at the rivers Cayster, Hermus, and Peneus. It was γη ποταμοχωστος, land thrown up by the river.—*T.*

[3] *From following.*]—Diodorus Siculus assures us on the contrary,

earnest desire of becoming a second time master of Athens, and partly by his pride. He was also anxious to inform the king at Sardis, by means of fires [4] dispersed at certain distances along the islands, that he had taken Athens. Proceeding therefore to Attica, he found it totally deserted; the inhabitants, as he was informed, being either at Salamis or on board the fleet. He then took possession of Athens a second time, ten months after its capture by Xerxes.

IV. Whilst he continued at Athens, he dispatched to Salamis, Murichides, a native of the Hellespont, with the same propositions that Alexander the Macedonian had before made to the Athenians. He sent this second time, not that he was ignorant of the ill-will of the Athenians towards him; but because he hoped, that seeing Attica effectually subject to his power, their firmness would relax.

trary, that Mardonius, whilst in Bœotia, did actually send money to the Peloponnese, to detach the principal cities from the league.

[4] *Fires.*]—I have before spoken on this subject, and informed my reader, how in remoter times intelligence of extraordinary events was communicated from one place to another by reason of fires. The word here is πυρσοισι, which Larcher renders torches, and adds in a note the following particulars:

"Men placed at different distances gave notice of whatever happened. The first who saw any thing gave warning of it by holding up lighted torches; the second held up as many torches as he had seen; the third and the rest did the same: by which means intelligence was communicated to a great distance in a short space of time."—*T.*

V. Murichides went to the council, and delivered the ſentiments of Mardonius. A ſenator named Lycidas gave his opinion, that the terms offered by Murichides were ſuch as it became them to liſten to, and communicate to the people: he ſaid this, either from conviction, or ſeduced by the gold of Mardonius; but he had no ſooner thus expreſſed himſelf, than both the Athenians who heard him, and thoſe who were without, ruſhed with indignation upon him, and ſtoned him[5] to death. Murichides they diſmiſſed without injury. The Athenian women ſoon heard of the tumult which had been excited at Salamis on account of Lycidas, when in a body mutually ſtimulating each other, they ran impetuouſly to his houſe, and ſtoned his wife, and his children.

[5] *Stoned him.*]—A man of the name of Cyrſilus had ten months before met a ſimilar fate for having adviſed the people to ſtay in their city and receive Xerxes. The Athenian women in like manner ſtoned his wife. Cicero mentions the ſame fact, probably from Demoſthenes.—See *Demoſt. Orat. pro Corona.*——*Larcher.*

The ſtoning a perſon to death was in remoter times not only reſorted to by the people to gratify their fury againſt an obnoxious character, but it had the ſanction of law, and was a puniſhment annexed to more enormous crimes. The extreme barbarity of it is too obvious to require diſcuſſion; we accordingly find it gradually diſuſed as civilization extended its powerful influence. Within theſe laſt centuries, in all the diſtractions of civil, or the tumults occaſioned by religious fanaticiſm, we meet with no example of any one's being ſtoned to death. A modern traveller informs us, that lapidation, or ſtoning to death, is a puniſhment at this time inflicted in Abyſſinia for crimes againſt religion.—*T.*

VI.

VI. These were the inducements with the Athenians for returning to Salamis: as long as they entertained any expectation of assistance from the Peloponnese they staid in Attica; but when they found their allies careless and inactive, and that Mardonius was already in Bœotia, they removed with all their effects to Salamis. At the same time they sent envoys to Lacedæmon, to complain that the Spartans, instead of advancing with them to meet the Barbarian in Bœotia, had suffered him to enter Attica. They told them by what liberal offers the Persian had invited them to his friendship; and they forewarned them, that if they were not speedy in their communication of assistance, the Athenians must seek some other remedy. The Lacedæmonians were then celebrating what are called the Hyacinthia [6], which solemnity they deem of the highest importance; they were also at work upon the wall of the isthmus, of which the battlements were already erected.

VII. The Athenian deputies, accompanied by those of Megara and Platæa, arrived at Lacedæmon, and being introduced to the Ephori [7], thus addressed

[6] *Hyacinthia.*]—A particular description of this solemnity is given by Athenæus in his fourth book. They were celebrated in memory of the beautiful Hyacinthus, whose story must be sufficiently familiar; and they were accompanied by games in honour of Apollo. They continued three days, and were exhibited at Amyclæ, in Laconia.—*T.*

[7] *Ephori.*]—Of the Ephori I have before spoken at some length,

addreſſed them: "We have to inform you, on the "part of the Athenians, that the king of the "Medes has expreſſed himſelf willing to reſtore "us our country, and to form an alliance with us "on equitable terms, without fraud or colluſion: "he has alſo engaged to give us any other country "which we may chooſe in addition to our own. "We, however, though deſerted and betrayed by "the Greeks, have ſteadily refuſed all his offers, "through reverence for the Grecian Jupiter [8], and "deteſtation of the crime of treachery to our coun-"trymen. We are ſenſible that it would be more "to our advantage to accept the Barbarian's offered "friendſhip, than continue the object of his hoſti-"lities; we ſhall however be very unwilling to do "ſo. Thus far we have diſcharged our duty to "the Greeks with ſincerity and candour; but you, "who were ſo greatly alarmed at the poſſibility of "our becoming the confederates of Perſia, when "once you were convinced that we ſhould con-"tinue faithful to Greece, and when you had nearly "completed the wall on the iſthmus, thought no "farther of us nor of our danger. You had agreed

length, but I omitted to mention that the principal Ephorus was called Eponymus, as the principal Archon was at Athens, and for the ſame reaſon, becauſe from him the year was named εφορεύοντος τȣ δεινα.—*T.*

[8] *Grecian Jupiter.*]—Pauſanias in Corinthiis, c. xxx. ſpeaks of a temple erected to this Jupiter on a mountain called Panhel-lenium: It was ſaid to have been erected by Æacus. There was alſo a feſtival called the Panellenia, celebrated by an aſſem-bly of people from the different parts of Greece.—*T.*

"with

"with us jointly to meet the Barbarian in Bœotia; "but you never fulfilled the engagement, consider-"ing the entrance of the enemy into Attica as of "no importance. The Athenians therefore con-"fess, that they are incensed against you, as having "violated your engagements. We now require "you instantly to send us supplies, that we may be "able to oppose the Barbarian in Attica. We "have failed in meeting him in Bœotia; but we "think the plains of Thria [9], in our own territories, "a convenient and proper place to offer him "battle."

VIII. The Ephori heard, but deferred answering them till the next day; when the morrow came, they put them off till the day following, and this they did for ten days successively. In this interval, the Peloponnesians prosecuted with great ardour on the isthmus their work of the wall, which they nearly completed. Why the Spartans discovered so great an anxiety on the arrival of Alexander at Athens, least the Athenians should come to terms

[9] *Thria.*]—This was a village in Attica.—See *Spon de Pagis Atticis.* Athens had ten gates, the largest of which, probably because the entrance to the city from Thria, were called Portæ Thriasiæ.—See *Meursius Atticæ Lectiones.* The same gates were afterwards called Dipylon.—See *Plutarch in Pericle.* Παρα τας Θριασιας πυλας αἱ νυν Διπυλον ονομαζονται. It was also called the sacred gate, and was that through which Sylla entered from the Piræus. It was named moreover the gate of Ceramicus. —*T.*

with the Medes, and why now they did not ſeem to concern themſelves about them, is more than I am able to explain, unleſs it was that the wall of the iſthmus was unfiniſhed, after which they did not want the aid of the Athenians: but when Alexander arrived at Athens, this work was not completed, although from terror of the Perſians they eagerly purſued it.

IX. The anſwer and motions of the Spartans were finally theſe: on the day preceding that which was laſt appointed, a man of Tegea, named Chileus [10], who enjoyed at Lacedæmon greater reputation than any other foreigner, enquired from one of the Ephori what the Athenians had ſaid; which when he knew, he thus addreſſed them: "Things, "O Ephori, are thus circumſtanced. If the Athe- "nians, withdrawing from our alliance, ſhall unite "with the Perſian, ſtrong as our wall on the "iſthmus may be, the enemy will ſtill find an eaſy "entrance into the Peloponneſe. Let us there- "fore hear them before they do any thing which "may involve Greece in ruin."

[10] *Chileus.*]—Plutarch, in the Eſſay ſo often quoted, takes occaſion in this place ſeverely to reprobate Herodotus. According to the hiſtorian, ſays he, we are taught to believe, that if any private buſineſs had kept Chileus at home, or if the rights of private hoſpitality had not accidentally ſubſiſted betwixt this man and ſome of the Ephori, the ſplendid victory at Platæa never would have happened. Surely it could not be neceſſary to inform a man of Plutarch's wiſdom, that from cauſes equally inſignificant, events not leſs important than the one here recorded have proceeded.—*T.*

X. The Ephori were so impressed by what Chileus had said, that without communicating with the deputies of the different states, whilst it was yet night, they sent away a detachment of five thousand Spartans, each accompanied by seven Helots, under the conduct of Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command properly belonged to Plistarchus [11], son of Leonidas; he was yet a child, and Pausanias was his guardian and his uncle. Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and father of Pausanias, died very soon after having conducted back from the isthmus the detachment which constructed the wall. He had brought them back, because, whilst offering a sacrifice to determine whether he should attack the Persian, an eclipse [12] of the sun had

[11] *Plistarchus.*]—This prince, according to Pausanias, died at a very early age, and was succeeded by the Pausanias here mentioned.—*T.*

[12] *An eclipse.*]—That an eclipse in the early ages of ignorance and superstition should be deemed an inauspicious omen seems very natural. A partial deprivation of light or heat, contrary to their ordinary experience, and beyond their ability to account for and explain, must to untutored minds have had the appearance of preternatural interposition, and have seemed expressive of divine displeasure.

Mr. Selden makes no scruple to assert, that the authors of the melancholy rites instituted in Phrygia, in honour of Adonis, had no other meaning than to represent thereby the access and recess of the sun. *Attes Hyes, Hyes Attes,* was the set form of exclamation used in these mysteries, which, as explained by Bochart, means, *tu es ignis, ille est ignis,* is consistent with Selden's opinion, and justifies us in the concluding, that ignis, fire or heat, whether solar or any other, whether real or symbolical, was

had happened. Pausanias selected as his assistant in command Euryanactes, son of Dorieus, who was his relation.

XI. With these forces Pausanias left Sparta: the deputies, ignorant of the matter, when the morning came went to the Ephori, having previously resolved to return to their respective cities: "You, O Lacedæmonians," they exclaimed, "lingering here, solemnize the Hyacinthia, and are "busy in your public games, basely deserting your "allies. The Athenians, injured by you, and but "little assisted by any, will make their peace with "the Persians on the best terms they can obtain. "When the enmity betwixt us shall have ceased, "and we shall become the king's allies, we shall "fight with him wherever he may choose to lead "us: you may know therefore what consequences "you have to expect." In answer to this declaration of the ambassadors, the Ephori protested upon oath, that they believed their troops were already in Orestium, on their march against the strangers[13]; by which expression they meant the Barbarians.

was the chief thing intended and pointed at in these mysteries. Neither is it perhaps unworthy of remark, that Ezekiel was carried to the north door of the temple to behold the women lamenting Thammuz or Adonis.

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Thammuz."—*Ezek.* viii. 15.—*T.*

[13] *The strangers, &c. Barbarians.*]—I have before remarked, that the ancients used the word Barbarians in a much milder sense

Barbarians. The deputies, not underſtanding them, requeſted an explanation. When the matter was properly repreſented to them, they departed with aſtoniſhment to overtake them, accompanied by five thouſand armed troops from the neighbourhood of Sparta.

XII. Whilſt theſe were haſtening to the iſthmus, the Argives[14], as ſoon as they heard of the departure of Pauſanias at the head of a body of troops from Sparta, ſent one of their fleeteſt meſſengers to Mardonius in Attica. They had before undertaken to prevent the Lacedæmonians from taking the field. When their herald arrived at Athens, "I am ſent," ſaid he to Mardonius, "by the Ar-"gives, to inform you that the forces of Sparta "are already on their march, and we have not

ſenſe than we do. In the ſenſe in which it is here uſed, it occurs in the following claſſical lines of Milton:

High on a throne of royal ſtate, which far
Outſhone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous eaſt with richeſt hand
Show'rs on her king *barbaric* pearl and gold,
Satan exalted ſat. *T.*

14 *The Argives.*]—Euſtathius in Dionyſ. informs us that Apis having cleared the Peloponneſus of ſerpents, named it from himſelf Apia. He was afterwards deified, and thence called Serapis, all which has a manifeſt alluſion to the great idol of the Ægyptians. From theſe ſerpents probably this part of the Peloponneſe was called Argus, for Argus, according to Heſychius, was uſed ſynonimouſly with Ophis, Serpens. —See Heſychius at the word Διχια. But this is mere conjecture.—*T.*

"been able to prevent them; avail yourſelf "therefore of this information." Saying this, he returned.

XIII. Mardonius, hearing this, determined to ſtay no longer in Attica. He had continued until this time, willing to ſee what meaſures the Athenians would take; and he had refrained from offering any kind of injury to the Athenian lands, hoping they would ſtill make peace with him. When it was evident that this was not to be expected, he withdrew his army before Pauſanias and his detachment arrived at the iſthmus. He did not however depart without ſetting fire to Athens [15], and levelling with the ground whatever of the walls, buildings, or temples, ſtill remained entire. He was induced to quit his ſtation, becauſe the country of Attica was ill adapted for cavalry, and becauſe in caſe of defeat he had no other means of eſcape but through ſtraits, where a handful of men might cut off his retreat. He therefore determined to remove to Thebes, that he might have the ad-

[15] *Fire to Athens.*]—The fate of Athens has been various. It was firſt burned by Xerxes; the following year by Mardonius; it was a third time deſtroyed in the Peloponneſian war; it received a Roman garriſon to protect it againſt Philip ſon of Demetrius, but was not long afterwards ravaged and defaced by Sylla; in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, it was torn in pieces by Alaric, king of the Goths, and is now as obſcure and inſignificant as it was once famous and ſplendid. When in its glory, the circumference of the walls of the city alone was ſeven miles and a half. Modern Athens is called Athini. —*T.*

vantage

vantage of fighting near a confederate city, and in a country convenient for his cavalry.

XIV. Mardonius was already on his march, when another courier came in haste to inform him, that a second body of a thousand Spartans was moving towards Megara. He accordingly deliberated how he might intercept this latter party. Turning aside towards Megara [16], he sent on his cavalry to ravage the Megarian lands. These were the extreme limits, on the western parts of Europe, to which the Persian army penetrated.

XV. Another messenger now came to tell him, that the Greeks were assembled with great strength at the isthmus; he therefore turned back through Decelea. The Bœotian chiefs had employed their Asopian neighbours as guides, who conducted Mardonius first to Sphendaleas, and thence to Tanagra. At Tanagra, Mardonius passed the night, and the next day came to Scolos, in the Theban territory. Here the lands of the Thebans, though the friends and allies of the Medes, were laid waste, not from any enmity, but from the urgent necessities of the army. The general was desirous to fortify his camp, and to have some place of refuge in case of

[16] *Megara.*]—Was at the point of middle distance betwixt Athens and Corinth: it took its name either from Megaras, a son of Neptune, or Megareus, a son of Apollo. It was the native place of Euclid the Socratic, and of Theognis. There was a place of the same name in Sicily. The Megara here mentioned retains its ancient name.—*T.*

defeat.

defeat. His camp extended from Erythræ, by Hysiæ, as far as Platæa, on the banks of the Asopus. It was protected by a wall, which did not continue the whole extent of the camp, but which occupied a space of ten stadia in each of the four fronts. Whilst the Barbarians were employed on this work, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, a Theban, gave a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank were invited. They accepted the summons, and the feast was given at Thebes.

XVI. What I am now going to relate, I received from Tersander, an Orchomenian, one of the most esteemed of his countrymen. He informed me, that he was one of fifty Thebans whom Attaginus at the same time invited. They were so disposed at the entertainment, that a Theban and a Persian were on the same couch[17]. After the feast they

[17] *On the same couch.*]—The ancients, in more remote times, sat at table as we do. Homer represents people as sitting round a table. Yet the custom of reclining on a couch at meals must have been practised very early, as is evident from this passage of Herodotus. The Romans also, in the earlier times of the republic, sat; and [illegible]ng his surprize at this, enquires what could [illegible]duce the Romans, as they became more luxurious and voluptuous, to adopt a custom much less convenient and easy. He proceeds to give the following reason from Mercurialis, who says, that they first began to eat in a reclining attitude when the use of the bath became fashionable; it was their custom to bathe before supper; after bathing to lie down, and have their supper placed before them; it soon became universally the practice to eat in that posture. Heliogabalus

they began to drink cheerfully, when the Persian, who was on the same couch, asked him in Greek, "What countryman he was?" he replied, "An "Orchomenian." "Well," answered the Persian, "since we have feasted together, and partaken of the "same libations[18], I would wish to impress upon "your mind something which may induce you to "remember me, and at the same time enable you "to provide for your own security. You see the "Persians present at this banquet, and you know "what forces we encamped upon the borders of "the river; of all these in a short interval very "few will remain." Whilst he was saying this, the Persian wept. His neighbour, astonished at the remark, replied: "Does it not become you to "communicate this to Mardonius, and to those

Heliogabalus had his sleeping beds and table beds of solid silver.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. iii. 74. See also Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture, from which I extract the following:

"The Persian carvings at Persepolis frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of high-raised chair, with a footstool; but the later sovereigns of that country have sat with their legs under them, on some carpet or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Two very ancient colossal statues in Ægypt are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude we make use of in sitting." In like manner we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.—*T.*

[18] *Same libations.*]—The Greek is ομοσπονδος, which perhaps might as well have been rendered drank of the same cup. This expression occurs with great beauty and effect in the lively allegorical description which Nathan gives David of his conduct. "It did eat of his own meat, *and drank of his own cup*, &c." —*T.*

"next him in dignity?" "My friend," returned the Perſian, "it is not for man to counteract the "deciſions of Providence. Confidence is ſeldom "obtained to the moſt obvious truths. A multi-"tude of Perſians think as I do; but, like me, "they follow what it is not in their power to avoid. "Nothing in human life is more to be lamented, "than that a wiſe man ſhould have ſo little in-"fluence." This information I received from Therſander the Orchomenian, who alſo told me that he related the ſame to many before the battle of Platæa.

XVII. Whilſt Mardonius was ſtationed in Bœotia, all the Greeks who were attached to the Perſians ſupplied him with troops, and joined him in his attack on Athens; the Phoceans alone did not: theſe had indeed, and with apparent ardour, favoured the Medes, not from inclination but neceſſity. A few days after the entertainment given at Thebes, they arrived with a thouſand well armed troops under the command of Harmocydes, one of their moſt popular citizens. Mardonius, on their following him to Thebes, ſent ſome horſemen, commanding them to halt by themſelves in the plain where they were: at the ſame moment, all the Perſian cavalry appeared in ſight. A rumour inſtantly circulated amongſt thoſe Greeks who were in the Perſian camp, that the Phoceans were going to be put to death by the cavalry. The ſame alſo ſpread amongſt the Phoceans; on which account their leader Harmocydes thus addreſſed them: "My "friends,

" friends, I am convinced that we are deſtined to
" periſh by the ſwords of theſe men, and from the
" accuſations of the Theſſalians. Let each man
" therefore prove his valour. It is better to die like
" men, exerting ourſelves in our own defence, than
" to ſuffer ourſelves to be ſlain tamely and without
" reſiſtance: let theſe Barbarians know, that the
" men whoſe deaths they meditate are Greeks."

XVIII. With theſe words Harmocydes animated his countrymen. When the cavalry had ſurrounded them, they rode up as if to deſtroy them: they made a ſhew of hurling their weapons, which ſome of them probably did. The Phoceans upon this cloſed their ranks, and on every part fronted the enemy. The Perſians, ſeeing this, faced about and retired. I am not able to decide whether, at the inſtigation of the Theſſalians, the Phoceans were actually doomed to death; or whether, obſerving them determined to defend themſelves, the Perſians retired from the fear of receiving ſome injury themſelves, and as if they had been ſo ordered by Mardonius, merely to make experiment of their valour. After the cavalry were withdrawn, an herald came to them on the part of Mardonius: "Men of Phocis," he exclaimed, "be not alarmed; you have given a
" proof of reſolution which Mardonius had been
" taught not to expect; aſſiſt us therefore in the
" war with alacrity, for you ſhall neither out-do
" me or the king in generoſity." The above is what happened with reſpect to the Phoceans.

XIX. The Lacedæmonians arriving at the isthmus [19], fortified their camp. As soon as this was known to the rest of the Peloponnesians, all were unwilling to be surpassed by the Spartans, as well they who were actuated by a love of their country, as they who had seen the Lacedæmonians proceed on their march. The victims which were sacrificed having a favourable appearance, they left the isthmus in a body, and came to Eleusis. The sacrifices at this place being again auspicious, they continued to advance, having been joined at Eleusis by the Athenians, who had passed over from Salamis. On their arrival at Erythræ, in Bœotia, they first learned that the Barbarians were encamped near the Asopus; consulting upon which, they marched forwards to the foot of Mount Cithæron [20].

XX.

[19] *At the isthmus.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Peloponnesians, arriving at the isthmus, agreed without reserve to take the following oath:

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not desert my commanders, living or dead; I will grant burial to all the allies who shall perish in the contest; after having vanquished the Barbarians, I will not destroy any city which contributed to their defeat; I will not rebuild any temple which they have burned or overturned; but I will leave them in their present condition, as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians."

Lycurgus says, and with greater probability, that this oath was taken by the confederates at Platæa.—*Lycurg. contra Leocreton.* The oath is there preserved, but it differs in some respect; it adds: "I will decimate all those who have taken part with the Barbarians."—*Larcher.*

[20] *Cithæron.*]—This place was particularly eminent for the sacrifices to Bacchus.—See *Virg. Æn.* v. 301.

Qualis

XX. As they did not defcend into the plain [21], Mardonius fent againft them the whole of his cavalry, under the command of Mafiftius, called by the Greeks Macifius. He was a Perfian of diftinction, and was on this occafion mounted on a Nifæan horfe [22], decorated with a bridle of gold,

Qualis commotis excita facris
Thyas ubi audito ftimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia, nocturnufque vocat clamore Cithæron. *T.*

[21] *Into the plain.*]—Plutarch relates fome particulars previous to this event, which are worth tranfcribing.

Whilft Greece found itfelf brought to a moft delicate crifis, fome Athenian citizens of the nobleft families of the place, feeing themfelves ruined by the war, and confidering that with their effects they had alfo loft their credit and their influence, held fome fecret meetings, and determined to deftroy the popular government of Athens; in which project if they failed, they refolved to ruin the ftate, and furrender Greece to the Barbarians. This confpiracy had already made fome progrefs, when it was difcovered to Ariftides. He at firft was greatly alarmed, from the juncture at which it happened; but as he knew not the precife number of confpirators, he thought it expedient not to neglect an affair of fo great importance, and yet not to inveftigate it too minutely, in order to give thofe concerned opportunity to repent. He fatisfied himfelf with arrefting eight of the confpirators; of thefe, two as the moft guilty were immediately proceeded againft, but they contrived to efcape. The reft he difmiffed, that they might fhew their repentance by their valour, telling them, that a battle fhould be the great tribunal to determine their fincere and good intentions to their country.—*Plutarch's Life of Ariftides*—*Larcher.*

[22] *Nifæan horfe.*]—Thefe horfes are mentioned as remarkable for their fize, in Thalia, c. 136. Strabo fays, book the 11th, that they were ufed by kings, being the beft and largeft breed, Αριϛοις ουσι και μεγιϛοις; they are faid to have been all of a golden colour, ειναι ξανθας πασας.—*T.*

and other ſplendid trappings. When they came near the Greeks, they attacked them in ſquadrons, did them conſiderable injury, and by way of inſult called them women.

XXI. The ſituation of the Megarians being moſt eaſy of acceſs, was moſt expoſed to the enemy's attack. Being hardly preſſed by the Barbarians, they ſent an herald, who thus addreſſed the Grecian commanders: "We Megarians, O allies, "are unable to ſtand the ſhock of the enemy's "cavalry in our preſent poſition: nevertheleſs, "though cloſely preſſed, we make a vigorous and "valiant reſiſtance. If you are not ſpeedy in re- "lieving us, we ſhall be compelled to quit the "field." After this report of the heralds, Pauſanias wiſhed to ſee if any of the Greeks would voluntarily offer themſelves to take the poſt of the Megarians. All refuſed, except a choſen band of three hundred Athenians, commanded by Olympiadorus the ſon of Lampon.

XXII. This body, which took upon itſelf the defence of a poſt declined by all the other Greeks encamped at Erythræ, brought with them a band of archers. The engagement, after an obſtinate diſpute, terminated thus: The enemies horſe attacked in ſquadrons; the ſteed of Maſiſtius, being conſpicuous above the reſt, was wounded in the ſide by an arrow; it reared, and becoming unruly from the pain of the wound, threw its rider. The

Athenians rushed upon him, seized the horse, and, notwithstanding his resistance, killed Masistius. In doing this, however, they had some difficulty, on account of his armour. Over a purple tunic he wore a breastplate covered with plates of gold. This repelled all their blows, which some person perceiving, killed him by wounding him in the eye[23]. The death of Masistius was unknown to the rest of his troops; they did not see him fall from his horse, and were ignorant of his fate, their attention being entirely occupied by succeeding in regular squadrons to the charge. At length making a stand, they perceived themselves without a leader. Upon this they mutually animated each other, and rushed in with united force upon the enemy, to bring off the body[24] of Masistius.

XXIII. The Athenians seeing them advance no longer in successive squadrons, but in a collected

[23] *In the eye.*]—Plutarch, in his Life of Aristides, says that Masistius was killed by a wound through the opening of his helmet.

[24] *Bring off the body.*]—This was considered as a high point of honour in ancient military service. Some of the finest passages of Homer are found in his descriptions of battles about the dead bodies of the slain. The superstitious ideas which prevailed, from the circumstance of a deceased relative's not receiving the rites of burial, are beautifully employed by Sophocles in his Antigone. It seems a very natural impulse, but I remember no other instance where the Persians appear to have been tenacious with respect to this prejudice. Their obstinacy on this occasion might increase in the proportion in which they saw it exercised by their adversaries. On the customs of the Persians with respect to their dead, see book i. c. cxl. and note [185].—*T.*

body, called out for relief. While the infantry were moving to their support, the body of Masistius was vigorously disputed. While the three hundred were alone, they were compelled to give ground, and recede from the body; but other forces coming to their relief, the cavalry in their turn gave way, and, with the body of their leader, lost a great number of their men. Retiring for the space of two stadia, they held a consultation, and being without a commander, determined to return to Mardonius.

XXIV. On their arrival at the camp, the death of Masistius spread a general sorrow through the army, and greatly afflicted Mardonius himself. They cut off the hair from themselves, their horses, and their beasts of burden, and all Bœotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. The man they had lost was, next to Mardonius, most esteemed by the Persians and the king. Thus the Barbarians in their manner honoured the deceased Masistius.

XXV. The Greeks having not only sustained but repelled the attacks of the cavalry, were inspired with increasing resolution. The body of Masistius, which from its beauty and size deserved admiration, they placed on a carriage, and passed through the ranks [25], while all quitted their stations to

[25] *Through the ranks.*]—Thus in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, Achilles directs the body of Hector to be carried for inspection through the Grecian army:

Meanwhile

to view it. They afterwards determined to remove to Platæa; they thought this a more commodious place for a camp than Erythræ, as well for other reasons as because there was plenty of water. To this place, near which is the fountain of Gargaphie, they resolved to go and pitch a regularly fortified camp. Taking their arms, they proceeded by the foot of Cithæron, and passing Hysiæ, came to Platæa. They drew themselves up in regular divisions of the different nations near the fountain of Gargaphie [26] and the shrine of the hero Androcrates [27], some on a gently rising ground, others on the plain.

XXVI. In the arrangement of the several nations, a violent dispute arose betwixt the Tegeans and Athenians, each asserting their claim to one of the wings, in vindication of which they appealed to their former as well as more recent exploits. The Tegeans spoke to this effect: "The post "which we now claim has ever been given us by "the joint consent of the allies, in all the expeditions "made beyond the Peloponnese: we not only speak "of ancient but of less distant periods. After the

> Meanwhile ye sons of Greece in triumph bring
> The corpse of Hector, and your Pæans sing;
> Be this the song, slow moving toward the shore;
> Hector is dead, and Ilion is no more. *T.*

[26] *Gargaphie.*]—This place is celebrated in poetic story for being the place where Actæon was devoured by his dogs.—*T.*

[27] *Androcrates.*]—Androcrates had been anciently a Platæan commander.

"death of Eurystheus, when the Heraclidæ[28] made "an attempt to return to the Peloponnese, the "rank we now vindicate was allowed us on the "following occasion: In conjunction with the "Acheans and Ionians, who then possessed the Pe-"loponnese, we advanced as allies to the isthmus, "encamping opposite to those who were endea-"vouring to return. At that time Hyllus made a "proposition not to risk the safety of the two "armies, but that the Peloponnesians should select "the bravest man of all their army to engage him "in single combat, upon certain terms. The Pe-"loponnesians assented, and an oath was taken to "this effect: If Hyllus conquered the Peloponne-"sian chief, the Heraclidæ should be suffered to "resume their paternal inheritance; if Hyllus was "vanquished, the Heraclidæ were to retire, nor "during the space of one hundred years make any "effort to return to the Peloponnese. Echemus "the son of Œnopus and grandson of Phegeus[29], "our leader and prince, was selected on this occa-"sion by the voice of all the confederates. He "encountered Hyllus, and slew him. From this

[28] *Heraclidæ*]—This speech of the Tegeatæ does not to me seem remarkably wise. They had better, I should suppose, have spoken but very tenderly of their exploits against the Heraclidæ in the presence of their immediate descendants, who to punish their arrogance might naturally enough assign the superiority to their rivals, although their pretensions were not so well founded.—*Larcher*.

[29] *Phegeus*.]—Larcher, on the authority of Pausanias, proposes to read Cepheus, and I think it ought to be so. Cepheus was one of the Argonauts.

"exploits

"exploit, the Peloponnesians of that period assigned "us many honourable distinctions which we still "retain, and this in particular, that as often as any "expedition shall be made by their joint forces, "we should command one of the wings. With "you, O Lacedæmonians, we do not enter into "competition, we are willing that you should take "your post in which wing you think proper; the "command of the other, which has so long been "allowed us, we claim now. Not to dwell upon "the action we have recited, we are certainly more "worthy of this post than the Athenians. On "your account, O Spartans, as well as for the be-"nefit of others, we have fought again and again "with success and glory. Let not then the Athe-"nians be on this occasion preferred to us; for "they have never in an equal manner distinguished "themselves in past or in more recent periods."

XXVII. The Athenians made this reply: "We "are well aware, that the motive of our assembling "here is not to spend our time in altercations, but "to fight the Barbarians; but since it has been "thought necessary to urge on the part of the "Tegeatæ their ancient as well as more recent "exploits, we feel ourselves obliged to assert that "right, which we receive from our ancestors, to be "preferred to the Arcadians as long as we shall "conduct ourselves well. These Heraclidæ, whose "leader they boast to have slain at the isthmus, "after being rejected by all the Greeks with whom "they wished to take refuge from the servitude of

"the

" the people of Mycenæ, found a secure retreat " with us alone. In conjunction with them we " chastised the insolence of Eurystheus, and ob- " tained a complete victory over those who at that " time possessed the Peloponnese. The Argives, " who under Polynices fought against Thebes, re- " maining unburied [30], we undertook an expedi-

" tion

[30] *Unburied.*]—The sentiments of the ancients, with respect to the bodies of the dead remaining unburied, cannot be better expressed than in the following lines of Homer, which I give in the version of Pope. The shade of Patroclus, in the 23d book, thus addresses Achilles:

And sleeps Achilles (thus the phantom said)
Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead;
Living, I seem'd his dearest tenderest care;
But now forgot, I wander in the air.
Let my pale corpse the rights of burial know,
And give me entrance in the realms below;
Till then, the spirit finds no resting place,
But here and there the unbody'd spectres chase
The vagrant dead around the dark abode,
Forbid to cross th' irremeable flood.
Now give thy hand: for to the farther shore,
When once we pass, the soul returns no more;
When once the last funereal flames ascend,
No more shall meet Achilles and his friend, &c.

Upon this translation of Mr. Pope I may be excused remarking, that in the fourth line, the expression, "I wander in the air," is not in Homer. Homer contents himself with saying, "You did not neglect me living, but dead." The seventh line also is not in Homer: "Till then the spirit," &c. it is implied perhaps, but certainly not expressed. It may seem cavilling to quarrel with the epithet "irremeable" in the tenth line: I can only say it is not in Homer, who merely says υπερ

ποταμοιο

" tion against the Cadmeans, recovered the bodies, " and interred them in our country at Eleusis[31]. " A farther instance of our prowess was exhibited " in our repulsion of the Amazons[32], who advanced " from the river Thermodon to invade Attica. " We were no less conspicuous at the siege of Troy. " But this recital is vain and useless; the people " who were then illustrious might now be base, or " dastards then might now be heroes. Enough " therefore of the examples of our former glory, " though we are still able to introduce more and " greater; for if any of the Greeks at the battle of " Marathon merited renown, we may claim this, " and more also. On that day we alone contended " with the Persian, and after a glorious and success- " ful contest were victorious over an army of forty- " six different nations; which action must confess- " edly entitle us to the post we claim; but in the " present state of affairs, all dispute about rank is " unseasonable; we are ready, O Lacedæmonians, " to oppose the enemy wherever you shall choose " to station us. Wherever we may be, we shall " endeavour to behave like men. Lead us there- " fore, we are ready to obey you."

ποταμοιο over the river. " For to the farther shore, when once we pass," in lines eleven and twelve, are not found in Homer. —*T.*

[31] *At Eleusis.*]—Pausanias as well as Herodotus asserts that these bodies were interred at Eleusis.—*Pausan.* l. i. c. 39.

[32] *Amazons.*]—Concerning the Amazons, see book Melpomene, chap. cx.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. When the Athenians had thus delivered their ſentiments, the Lacedæmonians were unanimous in declaring that the Arcadians muſt yield to the people of Athens the command of one of the wings. They accordingly took their ſtation in preference to the Tegeatæ. The Greeks who came afterwards, with thoſe who were preſent before, were thus diſpoſed. The Lacedæmonians, to the number of ten thouſand, occupied the right wing; of theſe, five thouſand were Spartans, who were followed by thirty-five thouſand Helots lightly armed, allowing ſeven Helots to each Spartan. The Tegeatæ, to the number of fifteen hundred, were placed by the Spartans next themſelves, in conſideration of their valour, and as a mark of honour. Neareſt the Tegeatæ were five thouſand Corinthians, who, in conſequence of their requeſt to Pauſanias, had contiguous to them three hundred Potidæans of Palene. Next in order were ſix hundred Arcadians of Orchomene, three thouſand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, and a thouſand Trœzenians. Contiguous to theſe laſt were two hundred Lepreatæ; next to whom were four hundred Myceneans and Tirynthians. Stationed by the Tirynthians were in regular ſucceſſion a thouſand Phtiaſians, three hundred Hermionians, ſix hundred Eretrians and Styreans: next came four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ampraciatæ, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; to whom two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, and five hundred Æginetæ, ſucceſſively joined. Three thouſand Megareans and ſix hundred Plateans were

contiguous

contiguous to the Athenians, who to the number of eight thouſand, under the command of Ariſtides, ſon of Lyſimachus, occupied the left wing at the other extreme of the army.

XXIX. The amount of this army, independent of the ſeven Helots to each Spartan, was thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred men, all of them completely armed and drawn together to repel the Barbarian. Of the light armed troops were the thirty-five thouſand Helots, each well prepared for battle, and thirty-four thouſand five hundred attendant on the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks, reckoning a light armed ſoldier to every man; the whole of theſe therefore amounted to ſixty-nine thouſand five hundred.

XXX. Thus the whole of the Grecian army aſſembled at Platæa, including both the heavy and the light-armed troops, was one hundred eight thouſand two hundred men; adding to theſe one thouſand and eight hundred Theſpians who were with the Greeks, but without arms, the complete number was one hundred and ten thouſand. Theſe were encamped on the banks of the Aſopus [33].

XXXI.

[33] *Of the Aſopus.*]—An ingenious plan of this battle, which may give the reader a general idea of the reſpective ſituations of the two armies, may be ſeen in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis. In the deſcription of places, every ſucceding obſervation of different travellers confirms the fidelity and accuracy of Herodotus. On this ſubject Mr. Wood ſpeaks thus: "I would not encourage that diffidence in Herodotus which has already been carried too far. Were I to give my opinion of him

XXXI. The Barbarian army having ceaſed to lament Maſiſtius, as ſoon as they knew that the Greeks were advanced to Platæa, marched alſo to that part of the Aſopus neareſt to it; where they were thus diſpoſed by Mardonius. Oppoſed to the Lacedæmonians were the Perſians, who, as they were ſuperior in number, fronted the Tegeatæ alſo. Of this body the ſelect part was oppoſed to the Lacedæmonians, the leſs effective to the Tegeatæ. In making which arrangement Mardonius followed the advice of the Thebans. Next to the Perſians were the Medes, oppoſed to the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. The Bactrians were placed next, to encounter the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Myceneans, Phtiaſians. Contiguous to the Bactrians the Indians were diſpoſed, in oppoſition to the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians. The Sacæ, next in order, fronted the Ampraciatæ, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. The Athenians, Platæans, and Megareans were ultimately faced by the Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Theſſalians, and a thouſand Phoceans. All the Phoceans did not aſſiſt the Medes; ſome of them about Parnaſſus favoured the Greeks, and from that ſtation attacked and harraſſed both the troops of Mardonius and of the Greeks who were with him. The Macedonians and Theſſalians were alſo oppoſed to the Athenians.

him, having followed him through moſt of the countries which he viſited, I would ſay, that he is a writer of veracity in his deſcription of what he *ſaw*, but of credulity in his relations of what he *heard*."—*T*.

XXXII. In this manner Mardonius arranged those nations who were the most numerous and the most illustrious; with these were promiscuously mixed bodies of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and others. To the above might be added the Æthiopians, and those Ægyptians named Hermotybians and Calasirians[34], who alone of that country follow the profession of arms. These had formerly served on board the fleet, whence they had been removed to the land forces by Mardonius when at Phalerum: the Ægyptians had not been reckoned with those forces which Xerxes led against Athens. We have before remarked, that the Barbarian army consisted of three hundred thousand men; the number of the Greek confederates of Mardonius, as it was never taken, cannot be ascertained; as far as conjecture may determine, they amounted to fifty thousand. Such was the arrangement of the infantry; the cavalry were posted apart by themselves.

XXXIII. Both armies being thus ranged in nations and squadrons, on the following day offered sacrifices. The divine on the part of the Greeks was Tisamenus, the son of Antiochus, who had accompanied the Grecian army in this character. He was an Elean, of the race of Jamidæ[35], and of the

[34] *Hermotybians and Calasirians*]—See book Euterpe, c. clxiv.

[35] *Jamidæ.*]—The families of the Jamidæ, Clytiadæ, and Telliadæ, seem to have been all soothsayers, with some specific distinction.

the family of Clytiadæ, but had been admitted to the rights of a Lacedæmonian citizen. Having consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning his offspring, the Pythian informed him, he should be victorious in five remarkable contests. Tisamenus not understanding this, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, presuming it was here he was to expect renown and victory: becoming, therefore, a competitor in the Pentathlon, he carried off all the prizes, except that of wrestling [36], in which he was foiled by Hieronymus an Andrian. The Lacedæmonians, however, applying the oracular declaration to Tisamenus not to gymnastic but military contests, endeavoured to prevail on him by money to accompany their kings, the Heraclidæ, as a leader in their warlike enterprizes. He, observing that his friendship was of importance to the Spartans, endeavoured to make the most of it; he told them, that if they would admit him to all the privileges of a citizen of Sparta, they might expect his services, otherwise not. The Spartans were at

tinction. Cicero, in his book de Divinat. makes a difference betwixt the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ.

Larcher thinks the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt. Of Jamus, the founder of this family, it may farther be remarked, that his mother being secretly delivered of him, concealed him amongst the rushes and violets, from whence he had the name of Jamus, Ιον, Ion, signifying a violet. This is Larcher's account, who refers the reader to Pindar, Olymp. vi. ver. 90.—It nevertheless seems very far-fetched.—*T.*

36 *Except that of wrestling.*]—See Pausanias, l. iii. c. xi. where the same thing is said of this personage.

first

first incensed, and for a time neglected him; but when the terror of the Persian army was impending, they acceded to his terms. Tisamenus seeing them thus changed, encreased his demand [37], and insisted upon their making his brother Hegies also a citizen of Sparta.

XXXIV. In this conduct he seems to have imitated the example of Melampus, excepting that the one claimed a throne, the other the rights of a citizen. Melampus was invited from Pylos by the Argives, for a certain proposed compensation, to remove a kind of madness which prevailed amongst their women. The Argives, on his requiring half of their kingdom [38], disdained and left him; but as

[37] *Encreased his demand.*]—The story of the Sibylline books will here occur to the reader. A woman came to Tarquin with nine books of the oracles of the Sibyls, which she offered to sell: the king hesitating about the price, she went away and burned three of them, and then came and asked the same price for the remaining six; Tarquin again refused to accede to her demand; she accordingly went away, and burned three more, and returning, still asked the same price.—The augurs advised the king to pay her, and preserve the books as sacred, which was done.—*T.*

[38] *Half of their kingdom.*]—These men sometimes sold their knowledge at a very high price. There were diviners and soothsayers in all parts of Greece; but Elis of the Peloponnese was particularly remarkable for two families, the Jamidæ and the Clutidæ, who for many generations transmitted the art of divination from father to son.—See *Cicero de Divinat.* l. i. c. 41.—*T.*

Melampus is thus mentioned in the Odyssey.

as the diſeaſe continued to ſpread ſtill farther amongſt their females, they returned to him, accepting his terms: he obſerving this change, extended his views, refuſing to accompliſh what they deſired, unleſs they would alſo give a third part to his brother Bias: the Argives, compelled by neceſſity, granted this alſo.

XXXV. In like manner the Spartans, from their want of aſſiſtance of Tiſamenus, granted all that he deſired. He, from being an Elian, thus became a Spartan, and aſſiſting them as a divine, they obtained five remarkable victories. The Spartans never admitted but theſe two ſtrangers into the number of their citizens. The five victories were theſe: the firſt was this of Platæa; the ſecond was the battle of Tegea, won by the Spartans againſt the Tegeatæ and the Argives; the third at Dipæa,

A wretch ran breathleſs to the ſhore,
New from his crime and reeking yet with gore;
A ſeer he was, from great Melampus ſprung,
Melampus, who in Pylos flouriſh'd long;
Till urg'd by wrongs, a foreign realm he choſe,
Far from the hateful cauſe of all his woes.
Neleus his treaſures one long year detains,
As long he groan'd in Philacus's chains.
Meantime what anguiſh and what rage combin'd,
For lovely Pero rack'd his lab'ring mind;
Yet 'ſcap'd he death, and vengeful of his wrong,
To Pylos drove the lowing herds along;
Then Neleus vanquiſh'd, and conſign'd the fair
To Bias' arms, he ſought a foreign air;
Argos the rich for his retreat he choſe,
There form'd his empire, there his palace roſe. *T.*

againſt

againſt all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans; the fourth was over the Meſſenians at the iſthmus; the laſt at Tanagra [39], againſt the Athenians and Argives, which completed the predicted number.

XXXVI. This Tiſamenus officiated as the augur of the Greeks at Platæa, to which place he had accompanied the Spartans. The ſacrifices promiſed victory to the Greeks if they acted on the defenſive, but the contrary, if paſſing the Aſopus they began the fight.

XXXVII. Mardonius, though anxious to engage, had nothing to hope from the entrails, unleſs he acted on the defenſive only. He had alſo ſacrificed according to the Grecian rites, uſing as his ſoothſayer Hegeſiſtratus an Elean, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Telliadæ. The Spartans had formerly ſeized this man, thrown him into priſon, and menaced him with death, as one from whom they had received many and atrocious injuries. In this diſtreſs, alarmed not merely for his life, but with the idea of having previouſly to ſuffer many ſeverities, he accompliſhed a thing which can hardly be told. He was confined in ſome ſtocks bound with iron, but accidentally obtaining a knife, he perpetrated the boldeſt thing which has ever been recorded.

[39] *Tanagra.*]—Thucydides, in his account of this battle, agrees with Herodotus, and ſays that the Lacedæmonians were victorious: Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, repreſents it as doubtful.—*Larcher.*

recorded. Calculating what part of the remainder he ſhould be able to draw out, he cut off the extremity of his foot; this done, notwithſtanding he was guarded, he dug a hole under the wall, and eſcaped to Tegea, travelling only by night, and concealing himſelf in the woods during the day. Eluding the ſtricteſt ſearch of the Lacedæmonians, he came on the third night to Tegea, his keepers being aſtoniſhed at his reſolution, for they ſaw the half of his foot, but could not find the man. In this manner Hegeſiſtratus eſcaped to Tegea, which was not at that period in amity with Sparta. When his wound was healed he procured himſelf a wooden foot, and became an avowed enemy to Sparta. His animoſity, however, againſt the Lacedæmonians proved ultimately of no advantage to himſelf, he was taken in the exerciſe of his office at Zacynthus, and put to death.

XXXVIII. The fate of Hegeſiſtratus was ſubſequent to the battle of Platæa; but at the time of which we were ſpeaking, Mardonius, for a conſiderable ſum, had prevailed with him to ſacrifice, which he eagerly did, as well from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians, as from the deſire of reward; but the appearance of the entrails gave no encouragement to fight, either to the Perſians or their confederate Greeks, who alſo had their own appropriate ſoothſayer, Hippomachus of Leucadia. As the Grecian army continually encreaſed, Timogenides of Thebes, ſon of Herpys,[c] adviſed Mardonius to guard the paſs of Cithæron, repreſenting that he

might

might thus intercept great bodies, who were every day thronging to the allied army of the Greeks.

XXXIX. The hoſtile armies had already remained eight days encamped oppoſite to each other, when the above counſel was given to Mardonius. He acknowledged its propriety, and immediately on the approach of night, detached ſome cavalry to that part of Cithæron leading to Platæa, a place called by the Bœotians the "Three Heads," by the Athenians the "Heads of Oak." This meaſure had its effect, and they took a convoy of five hundred beaſts of burden, carrying a ſupply of proviſions from the Peloponneſe to the army: with the carriages they took alſo all the men who conducted them. Maſters of this booty, the Perſians, with the moſt unrelenting barbarity, put both men and beaſts to death: when their cruelty was ſatiated, they returned with what they had taken to Mardonius.

XL. After this event two days more paſſed, neither army being willing to engage. The Barbarians, to irritate the Greeks, advanced as far as the Aſopus, but neither army would paſs the ſtream. The cavalry of Mardonius greatly and conſtantly harraſſed the Greeks. The Thebans, who were very zealous in their attachment to the Medes, proſecuted the war with ardour, and did every thing but join battle; the Perſians and Medes ſupported them, and performed many illuſtrious actions.

XLI. In this ſituation things remained for the ſpace of ten days: on the eleventh, the armies retaining the ſame poſition with reſpect to each other, and the Greeks having received conſiderable reinforcements, Mardonius became diſguſted with their inactivity. He accordingly held a conference with Artabazus, the ſon of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Perſians whom Xerxes honoured with his eſteem: it was the opinion of Artabazus that they ſhould immediately break up their camp, and withdraw beneath the walls of Thebes, where was already prepared a magazine of proviſions for themſelves, and corn for their cavalry: here they might at their leiſure terminate the war by the following meaſures. They had in their poſſeſſion a great quantity of coined and uncoined gold, with an abundance of ſilver and plate: it was recommended to ſend theſe with no ſparing hand to the Greeks, and particularly to thoſe of greateſt authority in their reſpective cities. It was urged, that if this were done, the Greeks would ſoon ſurrender their liberties, nor again riſk the hazard of a battle. This opinion was ſeconded by the Thebans, who thought that it would operate ſucceſsfully. Mardonius was of a contrary opinion, fierce, obſtinate, and unyielding. His own army he thought ſuperior to that of the Greeks, and that they ſhould by all means fight before the Greeks received farther ſupplies; that they ſhould give no importance to the declarations of Hegeſiſtratus, but without violating the laws of Perſia, commence a battle in their uſual manner.

XLII.

XLII. This opinion of Mardonius nobody thought proper to oppofe, for to him, and not to Artabazus, the king had confided the fupreme command of the army. He therefore affembled the principal officers of the Perfians and confederate Greeks, and afked them, whether they knew of any oracle predicting that the Perfians fhould be overthrown by the Greeks. No one ventured to reply, partly becaufe they were ignorant of any fuch oracle, and partly becaufe they were fearful of delivering their real fentiments. Mardonius, therefore, thus addreffed them: "As either you know "no fuch oracle, or dare not fay what you think, I "will tell you my opinion, which I conceive to be "well founded: an oracle has faid, that the Per"fians, on their entering Greece, fhall plunder the "temple of Delphi, and in confequence be de"ftroyed. Being aware of this, we will not ap"proach that temple, nor make any attempt to "plunder it, and thus fhall avoid the ruin which "has been menaced: let then all thofe amongft "you, who wifh well to Perfia, rejoice in the con"viction that we fhall vanquifh the Greeks." Having faid this, he ordered that every thing fhould be properly difpofed to commence the attack early in the morning.

XLIII. The oracle which Mardonius applied to the Perfians referred, as I well know, not to them but to the Illyrians and Encheleans[40]. Upon the event

[40] *Illyrians and Enchcleans.*]—Paufanias, who defcribes with fo

event of this battle, this oracle had been communicated from Bacis:

"Thermodon's and Aſopus' banks along,
"The Greeks in fight againſt Barbarians throng;
"What numbers then ſhall preſs th' enſanguin'd
"field,
"What ſlaughter'd Medes their vital breath ſhall
"yield."

Theſe words, and others of Muſæus like them, doubtleſs related to the Perſians. The Thermodon flows betwixt Tanagra and Gliſas [41].

XLIV. After Mardonius had thus ſpoken concerning the oracles, and endeavoured to animate his troops, the watches of the night were ſet. When the night was far advanced, and the ſtricteſt ſilence prevailed through the army, which was buried in ſleep, Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, gene-

ſo much exactneſs the antiquities of Greece, does not (in Phocis) ſay any thing either of the plunder of the temple of Delphi, or of the calamities of the people concerned in it. Appian ſays, that the Antanians, who were an Illyrian nation, plundered this temple, and were deſtroyed by a peſtilence. Something more to the purpoſe is found in Euripides: Bacchus diſcovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which predicted to him, that when he ſhould retire amongſt the Illyrians and Encheleans, he ſhould reign over theſe people, and that they ſhould deſtroy a vaſt number of cities; but that after having plundered the temple of Delphi, they ſhould have an unfortunate return. If we had the oracle itſelf, we might ſee in what manner Mardonius applied it to the Perſians.—*Larcher*.

[41] *Gliſas.*]—This place is indifferently written Gliſas, and Gliſſas, and was anciently famous for its wine.—*T.*

ral

ral and prince of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outpoſts, and earneſtly deſired to ſpeak with their commanders. On hearing this the greater number continued on their poſts, while ſome haſtened to their officers, whom they informed that an horſeman was arrived from the enemy's army, who, naming the principal Greeks, would ſay nothing more than that he deſired to ſpeak with them.

XLV. The commanders[42] loſt no time in repairing to the advanced guard, where, on their arrival, they were thus addreſſed by Alexander: "I am "come, O Athenians, to inform you of a ſecret, "which you muſt impart to Pauſanias only[43], leaſt "my ruin enſue. Nor would I ſpeak now, were "not I anxious for the ſafety of Greece. I from "remote antiquity am of Grecian origin, and I "would not willingly ſee you exchange freedom "for ſervitude; I have therefore to inform you, "that if Mardonius and his army could have "drawn favourable omens from their victims, a "battle would long ſince have taken place: in-"tending to pay no farther attention to theſe, it is

[42] *The commanders.*]—Plutarch, who mentions this interview, ſpeaks only of Ariſtides. "A man on horſeback," ſays he, "approached ſilently the Grecian camp, and addreſſing himſelf to the centinels, deſired to ſpeak with Ariſtides, who came immediately.—*Larcher.*

[43] *To Pauſanias only.*]—This account is more probable than that given by Plutarch, who makes Alexander ſay to Ariſtides, that he muſt not communicate the ſecret to any one.—*Larcher.*

"his

"his determination to attack you early in the "morning, being afraid, as I suppose, that your "forces will be yet more numerous. Be therefore, "on your guard; but if he still defer his purpose "of an engagement, do you remain where you "are, for he has provisions but for a few days more. "If the event of this war shall be agreeable to "your wishes, it will become you to make some "efforts to restore my independence, who, on ac-"count of my partiality to the Greeks, have ex-"posed myself to so much danger in thus ac-"quainting you with the intention of Mardonius, "to prevent the Barbarians attacking you by sur-"prize. I am Alexander [44] of Macedon." When he had thus spoken, he returned to his station in the Persian camp.

XLVI. The Athenian chiefs went to the right

44 *I am Alexander.*]—

Aristides hastes—
To whom the stranger:—bulwark of this camp,
Hear, credit, weigh the tidings which I bear:
Mardonius, press'd by fear of threat'ning want,
At night's fourth watch the fatal stream will pass,
Inflexibly determin'd, tho' forbid
By each diviner, to assail your host
With all his numbers.—I against surprize
Am come to warn you: thee alone I trust,
My name revealing. I, O man divine,
I who thus hazard both my realm and life,
Am Alexander, Macedonian friend
Of Athens.—Kindly on a future day
Remember me. *Athenaid.*

wing,

wing, and informed Paufanias of what they had learned from Alexander. Paufanias, who ftood in much awe [45] of the Perfians, addreffed them thus in reply: "As a battle is to take place in the "morning, I think it adviseable that you, Atheni-"ans, fhould front the Perfians, and we thofe Bœo-"tians and Greeks who are now pofted oppofite "to you. You have before contended with the "Medes, and know their mode of fighting by ex-"perience at Marathon; we have never had this "opportunity; but we have before fought the

[45] *In much awe.*]—Commenting on this paffage, Wefeling afks, if Paufanias had forgotten the noble defence of the three hundred Spartans at the ftraits of Thermopylæ? and if their glorious deaths had rendered the Perfians more terrible? To this Larcher replies, in a manner not entirely fatisfactory: he obferves, that the Spartans on that occafion being all flain, there was not one in the army of Paufanias who had been engaged againft the Perfians, and who was acquainted with their mode of fighting.

It feems very fingular that M. Larcher fhould not remember, that there was a man in the army of Paufanias who had fought with the Perfians, efcaped the great deftruction of his country-men, and confequently could have informed his fellow foldiers in what manner the Perfians fought. See chapter lxx. of this book, in which we are told, that Ariftodemus, who efcaped from Thermopylæ, moft diftinguifhed himfelf at Platæa, in order to retrieve his reputation. We find alfo, that Leonidas had fuf-tained many battles with the flower of the Perfian army, aided by his Grecian allies, before he devoted himfelf and his three hundred to death, difmiffing all the reft of his army.

But after all, the moft ferious objection to this paffage of He-rodotus is, that it evidently militates with the received opinions of the difcipline of Sparta, and the patient fortitude which was the characteriftic feature of that fingular people.—*T.*

"Bœotians and Theſſalians; take, therefore, your "arms, and let us exchange ſituations." "From "the firſt," anſwered the Athenians, "when we "obſerved the Perſians oppoſed to you, we wiſhed "to make the propoſal[46] we now hear from you; "we have been only deterred by our fear of "offending you: as the overture comes from you, "we are ready to comply with it."

XLVII. This being agreeable to both, as ſoon as the morning dawned they changed ſituations; this the Bœotians obſerved, and communicated to Mardonius. The Perſian general immediately exerted himſelf to oppoſe the Lacedæmonians with his troops. Pauſanias, on ſeeing his ſcheme thus detected, again removed the Spartans to the right wing, as did Mardonius inſtantly his Perſians to the left.

XLVIII. When the troops had thus reſumed their former poſts, Mardonius ſent a herald with this meſſage to the Spartans: "Your character, "O Lacedæmonians, is highly celebrated amongſt "all theſe nations, as men who diſdain to fly; who "never deſert your ranks, determined either to "ſlay your enemies or die.—Nothing of this is "true: we perceive you in the act of retreating, "and of deſerting your poſts before a battle is

[46] *Make the propoſal.*]—According to Plutarch, the Grecian leaders were at firſt exceedingly offended at this conduct of Pauſanias, but were pacified by the remonſtrances of Ariſtides.

"commenced: we ſee you delegating to the Athe-
"nians the more dangerous attempt of oppoſing
"us, and placing yourſelves againſt our ſlaves,
"neither of which actions is conſiſtent with bra-
"very. We are, therefore, greatly deceived in
"our opinion of you; we expected, that from a
"love of glory you would have diſpatched a
"herald to us, expreſſing yourſelves deſirous to
"combat with the Perſians alone. Inſtead of this
"we find you alarmed and terrified; but as you
"have offered no challenge to us, we propoſe one
"to you. As you are eſteemed the moſt illuſtri-
"ous of your army, why may not an equal num-
"ber of you, on the part of the Greeks, and of
"us on the part of the Barbarians, contend for
"victory? If it be agreeable to you, the reſt of our
"common forces may afterwards engage; if this
"be unneceſſary, we will alone engage, and which-
"ever conquers ſhall be eſteemed victorious over
"the whole [47] of the adverſe army."

XLIX. The herald, after delivering his commiſſion, waited ſome time for an anſwer; not receiving any, he returned to Mardonius. He was

[47] *Over the whole.*]—Such partial challenges, as preventing an unneceſſary effuſion of blood, ſeem in caſes of unavoidable hoſtilities moſt conſonant to the dictates of humanity, and we find them frequently adopted in the earlier ages of the world. The hiſtories of Greece and Rome abound with innumerable examples of this kind; as war gradually refined into a ſcience, they came into diſuſe, and in later times have been totally laid aſide.—*T.*

exceedingly delighted, and already anticipating a victory, ſent his cavalry to attack the Greeks; theſe with their lances and arrows materially diſtreſſed the Grecian army, and forbade any near approach. Advancing to the Gargaphian fountain, which furniſhed the Greeks with water, they diſturbed[48] and ſtopped it up. The Lacedæmonians alone were ſtationed near this fountain, the other Greeks, according to their different ſtations, were more or leſs diſtant, but all of them in the vicinity of the Aſopus; but as they were debarred from watering here, by the miſſile weapons of the cavalry, they all came to the fountain.

L. In this predicament the leaders of the Greeks, ſeeing the army cut off from the water, and harraſſed by the cavalry, came in crowds to Pauſanias on the right wing, to deliberate about theſe and other emergencies. Unpleaſant as the preſent incident might be, they were ſtill more diſtreſſed from their want of proviſion: their ſervants, who had been diſpatched to bring this from the Peloponneſe, were prevented by the cavalry from returning to the camp.

LI. The Grecian leaders, after deliberating upon

[48] *Diſturbed, &c.*]—Bellanger is very angry with M. l'Abbé Gedoyn, for making Pauſanias ſay, that Mardonius on this occaſion *poiſoned* the water. "The Perſians, barbarians," ſays he, "as they were, had a greater reſpect for the laws of nations, and the rights of humanity:—they were not poiſoners." The Greek expreſſion in Herodotus is συνεταραξαν καὶ συνεχωσαν. The word which Pauſanias uſes is συνεχεεν.—*T.*

the

the ſubject, determined, if the Perſians ſhould for one day more defer coming to an engagement, to paſs to the iſland oppoſite to Platæa, and about ten ſtadia from the Aſopus and the fountain Gargaphie, where they were at preſent encamped. This iſland is thus connected with the continent: the river, deſcending from Cithæron to the plain, divides itſelf into two ſtreams, which after flowing ſeparately for about the diſtance of three ſtadia again unite, thus forming the iſland which is called Oëroë, who, according to the natives, is the daughter of Aſopus [49]. The Greeks by this meaſure propoſed themſelves two advantages; firſt to be ſecure of water, and ſecondly to guard againſt being farther annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. They reſolved to decamp at the time of the ſecond watch [50] by night, leaſt the Perſians, perceiving them, ſhould purſue and harraſs them with their cavalry. It was alſo their intention, when arrived at the ſpot where the Aſopian Oëroë is formed by

[49] *Daughter of Aſopus.*]—Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the twelve daughters of Aſopus, and Apollodorus, who ſpeaks of twenty by name, ſays nothing of this Oeroe.—*Weſſeling.*

Diodorus Sic. ſpeaks of Ægina, as well as Apollodorus, which laſt remarks that Ægina is the ſame with Œnone. Perhaps it is a miſtake in the text of Herodotus, and Œnone is the true reading.—*Larcher.*

[50] *Second watch.*]—About four hours after ſun-ſet. The Greeks divided the night into three watches.—*Larcher.*

The Romans divided their night into four watches. They had a *teſſera*, upon which ſomething was inſcribed; this was given from one centurion to another throughout the army, till it returned to the man from whom it was firſt received.—*T.*

the

the division of the waters flowing from Cithæron, to detach one half of their army to the mountain to relieve a body of their servants, who, with a convoy of provisions, were there encompassed.

LII. After taking the above resolutions, they remained all that day much incommoded by the enemy's horse: when these, at the approach of evening, retired, and the appointed hour was arrived, the greater part of the Greeks began to move with their baggage, but without any design of proceeding to the place before resolved on. The moment they began to march, occupied with no idea but that of escaping the cavalry, they retired towards Platæa, and fixed themselves near the temple of Juno, which is opposite to the city, and at the distance of twenty stadia from the fountain of Gargaphie: in this place they encamped.

LIII. Pausanias, observing them in motion, gave orders to the Lacedæmonians to take their arms, and follow their route, presuming they were proceeding to the appointed station. The officers all shewed themselves disposed to obey the orders of Pausanias, except Amompharetus, the son of Poliadas, captain of the band of Pitanatæ [51], who asserted that

[51] *Pitanatæ.*]—At this word Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage.—" There is a part of Sparta called the *Theometidæ*, where are the tombs of the princes, called Agidæ. Near this is the place where the Crotani assemble, and the Crotani are the body of troops named the *Pitanatæ*."

Thucydides,

that he would not fly before the Barbarians, and thus be acceſſary to the diſhonour of Sparta: he had not been preſent at the previous conſultation, and knew not what was intended. Pauſanias and Euryanax, though indignant at his refuſal to obey the orders which had been iſſued, were ſtill but little inclined to abandon the Pitanatæ, on the account of their leader's obſtinacy; thinking, that by their proſecuting the meaſure which the Greeks in general had adopted, Amompharetus and his party muſt unavoidably periſh. With theſe ſentiments the Lacedæmonians were commanded to halt, and pains were taken to diſſuade the man from his purpoſe, who alone, of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, was determined not to quit his poſt.

LIV. At this criſis the Athenians determined to remain quietly on their poſts, knowing it to be the genius of the Lacedæmonians to ſay one thing and think another [52]. But as ſoon as they obſerved the troops

Thucydides, on the contrary, aſſerts that there never was a body of troops at Lacedæmon diſtinguiſhed by this name.—See *Duker's edition of Thucydides*, page 17.

According to Meurſius; ſee his Miſcellanea Laconica, l. ii. c. 2. Thucydides ſays this of the cohort called Σκιρίτην. See alſo the ſame author's Atticæ Lectiones, l. i. c. 16.

Herodian, l. iv. ſays, that Antoninus Caracalla inſtituted at Rome a band, which he named Pitanetes. The word is derived from Pitana, a daughter of Eurotas, from whom a city was ſo called, which was the country of Menelaus.—*T.*

[52] *Think another.*]—"Artifice and cunning were adopted by Lycurgus in the ſyſtem of his politics. To *æolize*, or to deceive, was

troops in motion, they dispatched a horseman to learn whether the Lacedæmonians intended to remove, and to enquire of Pausanias what was to be done.

LV. When the messenger arrrived, he found the men in their ranks, but their leaders in violent altercation. Pausanias and Euryanax were unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Amompharetus not to involve the Lacedæmonians alone in danger by remaining behind, when the Athenian messenger came up to them. At this moment, in the violence of dispute, Amompharetus took up a stone with both his hands, and throwing it at the feet of Pausanias, exclaimed, "There is my vote for not flying before the foreigners;" so terming the Barbarians.

was made a distinguishing note and maxim of the Spartan government. Αιολος, Hesychius explains by the word ποικιλος, duplex, a sharper. The care which they took at Sparta to train their youth in the arts of wiliness and deceit, the applause which was bestowed on the young knave who excelled therein, and the chastisement inflicted on the lad who miscarried, and was detected, ὡς κακως κλεπτοντα, as one who had not yet learned his lesson, shew that they were reconciled to their name in its worst acceptation. To give it the best construction, we ought to consider, that the object Lycurgus had in view, was to render the people expert in the stratagems of war,—τους παιδας ποιειν πολεμικωτερους.—*Xenoph. de Lac. Rep.* The arms of the Spartan monarchy were *an eagle holding a serpent*; symbolically representing a superiority of cunning—Αιετος δρακοντος επειλημμενος; with this seal was their letter signed, which they sent to Onias the high priest.—See *Joseph. A. J.* l. xii. c. v. See also the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, where the expression Αιολος Δρακων occurs.—*T.*

barians. Paufanias, after telling him that he could be only actuated by phrenzy, turned to the Athenian who delivered his commiffion. He afterwards defired him to return, and communicate to the Athenians the ftate in which he found them, and to entreat them immediately to join their forces, and act in concert, as fhould be deemed expedient.

LVI. The meffenger accordingly returned to the Athenians, whilft the Spartan chiefs continued their difputes till the morning. Thus far Paufanias remained indecifive, but thinking, as the event proved, that Amompharetus would certainly not ftay behind, if the Lacedæmonians actually advanced, he gave orders to all the forces to march forwards by the heights, in which they were followed by the Tegeans. The Athenians keeping clofe to their ranks, purfued a route oppofite to that of the Lacedæmonians; thefe laft, who were in great awe of the cavalry, advanced by the fteep paths which led to the foot of mount Cithæron; the Athenians marched over the plain.

LVII. Amompharetus never imagining that Paufanias would venture to abandon them, made great exertions to keep his men on their pofts; but when he faw Paufanias advancing with his troops, he concluded himfelf effectually given up; taking therefore his arms, he with his band proceeded flowly after the reft of the army. Thefe continuing their march for a fpace of ten ftadia, came to a

place called Argiopius, near the river Moloës, where is a temple of the Eleuſinian Ceres, and there halted, waiting for Amompharetus and his party. The motive of Pauſanias in doing this was, that he might have the opportunity of returning to the ſupport of Amompharetus, if he ſhould be ſtill determined not to quit his poſt. Here Amompharetus and his band joined them; the whole force of the enemy's horſe continuing as uſual to harraſs them. As ſoon as the Barbarians diſcovered that the ſpot where the Greeks had before encamped was deſerted, they put themſelves in motion, overtook, and materially diſtreſſed them.

LVIII. Mardonius being informed that the Greeks had decamped by night, and ſeeing their former ſtation unoccupied, ſent for Thorax of Lariſſæ, and his brothers Eurypilus, and Thraſydeïus, and thus addreſſed them: "Sons of Aleuas [53], "what will you now ſay, ſeeing the Lacedæmoni-"ans deſert their poſt, whom you, their neigh-

[53] *Sons of Aleuas.*]—

Now, Lariſſæan Thorax, and the reſt
Of Aleuadian race, now, Theban lords,
Judge of the Spartans juſtly. Vaunted high
For unexampled prowess, them you ſaw
Firſt change their place, impoſing on the ſons
Of Athens twice the formidable taſk
To face my choſen Perſians; next, they gave
To my defiance no reply; and laſt,
Are fled before me; can your augurs ſhew
A better omen than a foe diſmay'd? &c. *Athenaid.*

" bours,

"bours, asserted to be men who never fled, but "were above all others valiant. You have before "seen them change their station in the camp, "and you find, that in the last night, they have "actually taken themselves to flight. They have "now shewn, that being opposed by men of undis-"puted courage, they are of no reputation them-"selves, and are as contemptible as their fellow "Greeks; but as you may have had some testi-"mony of their prowess, without being spectators "of ours, I can readily enough forgive the praises "which you rendered them. But that Artabazus, "from his terror of these Spartans, should assert an "opinion full of pusillanimity, and endeavour to "prevail on us to leave this station, and retire to "Thebes, fills me with astonishment.—The king, "however, shall hear from me of his conduct; but "of this more hereafter: let us, therefore, not "suffer these men to escape, but pursue them vigo-"rously, and chastise them with becoming seve-"rity for their accumulated injuries to Persia."

LIX. Having thus expressed himself, he led the Persians over the Asopus, and pursued the path which the Greeks had taken, whom he considered as flying from his arms. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were the sole objects of his attack, for the Athenians, who had marched over the plain, were concealed by the hills from his view. The other Persian leaders seeing the troops moving, as if in pursuit of the Greeks, raised their standards, and followed the rout with great impetuosity, but

without regularity or diſcipline; they hurried on with tumultuous ſhouts, conſidering the Greeks as abſolutely in their power.

LX. When Pauſanias found himſelf thus preſſed by the cavalry, he ſent a horſeman with the following meſſage to the Athenians: "We are menaced, "O Athenians, by a battle, the event of which "will determine the freedom or ſlavery of Greece; "and in this perplexity you, as well as ourſelves, "have, in the preceding night, been deſerted by "our allies. It is nevertheleſs our determination "to defend ourſelves to the laſt, and to render ſuch "aſſiſtance as we may be able to you. If the enemy's "horſe had attacked you, we ſhould have thought "it our duty to have marched with the Tegeatæ, "who are in our rear, and ſtill faithful to Greece, "to your ſupport. As the whole operation of the "enemy ſeems directed againſt us, it becomes you "to give us the relief we materially want; but if "you yourſelves are ſo circumſtanced, as to be unable to advance to our aſſiſtance, at leaſt ſend us "a body of archers. We confeſs, that in this "war your activity has been far the moſt conſpicuous, and we therefore preſume on your compliance with our requeſt."

LXI. The Athenians, without heſitation, and with determined bravery, advanced to communicate the relief which had been required. When they were already on their march, the confederate Greeks, in the ſervice of the king, intercepted and attacked

attacked them: they were thus prevented from assisting the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance which gave them extreme uneasiness. In this situation the Spartans, to the amount of fifty thousand light-armed troops, with three thousand Tegeatæ [54], who on no occasion were separated from them, offered a solemn sacrifice [55], with the resolution of encountering

54 *Tegeatæ.*]—

Of the Spartans there were	- - - - - - -	5,000
Seven Helots to each Spartan	- - - - -	35,000
Lacedæmonians	- - - - - - - - - - -	5,000
A light armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian	-	5,000
Tegeatæ	- - - - - - - - - - - - -	1,500
Light-armed Tegeatæ	- - - - - - - - -	1,500
	Total -	53,000

See chapters xxviii. and xxix.

55 *Sacrifice.*]—Plutarch gives various particulars of this action omitted by Herodotus, which the reader perhaps may as well like to see in the words of Glover, who has almost literally copied Plutarch.

Slain is the victim, but the inspecting seer
Reveals no sign propitious. Now full nigh
The foremost Persian horse discharge around
Their javelins, darts, and arrows. Sparta's chief,
In calm respect of inauspicious heaven,
Directs each soldier at his foot to rest
The passive shield, submissive to endure
Th' assault, and watch a signal from the gods.
A second time unfavourable prove
The victim's entrails.—Unremitted showers
Of pointed arms distribute wounds and death.
A second victim bleeds: the gath'ring foes
To multitude are grown: the showers of death
Increase. Then melted into flowing grief

tering Mardonius. The victims, however, were not auspicious, and in the mean time many of them were slain, and more wounded. The Persians, under the protection of their bucklers [56], showered their

Pausanian pride.—He towards the fane remote
Of Juno lifting his afflicted eyes,
Thus suppliant spake: O goddess, let my hopes
Be not defeated, whether to obtain
A victory so glorious, or expire
Without dishonour to Herculean blood.—
The sacrifice is prosperous, &c.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination, by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well; if any thing was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was unfortunate; if the liver was bad they inspected no farther. For other particulars, see Potter. The Roman mode of divination by the entrails, was the same as that of the Greeks.—*T.*

[56] *Their bucklers.*]—The Persian bucklers were made of osier, and covered with skin.—See *Taylor on Demosthenes*, vol. iii. p. 620.

This passage has perplexed the commentators. Bellanger understands that the Persians made a rampart of their bucklers, behind which they used their arrows. Larcher approves of this, but it seems attended with many difficulties. Did they approach within a given distance of the enemy, and then pile up their bucklers by way of entrenchment? If so, in case of defeat, they became naked and defenceless; for how in the tumult of action, and the terror of a victorious foe, could they undo their entrenchment, and each recover his buckler. In Homer we find, that Teucer shot his arrows under the protection of the shield of Ajax; and though I am hardly warranted to make the assertion, it by no means seems improbable, that with the archers a body of shield-bearers might be distributed, to enable them to take their aim with more steadiness and certainty.—*T.*

arrows,

arrows upon the Spartans with prodigious effect. At this moment Pausanias, observing the entrails still unfavourable, looked earnestly towards the temple of Juno at Platæa, imploring the interposition of the goddess, and entreating her to prevent their disgrace and defeat.

LXII. Whilst he was in the act of supplicating the goddess, the Tegeatæ advanced against the Barbarians: at the same moment the sacrifices became favourable, and Pausanias, at the head of his Spartans, went up boldly to the enemy. The Persians, throwing aside their bows, prepared to receive them. The engagement commenced before the barricade[57]: when this was thrown down, a conflict took place near the temple of Ceres, which was continued with unremitted obstinacy till the fortune of the day was decided. The Barbarians, seizing their adversaries lances, broke them in pieces, and discovered no inferiority either in strength or courage; but their armour was inefficient, their attack without skill, and their inferiority with respect to discipline conspicuous. In whatever manner they rushed upon the enemy, from one to ten at a time, they were cut in pieces by the Spartans.

LXII. The Greeks were most severely pressed

[57] *Barricade.*]—The former difficulty here recurs; the Greek is περι τα γερρα, and the γερρα are explained to be the Persian shields. But whilst the Greeks were endeavouring to overturn this, were the Persians fighting without shields?—*T.*

where

where Mardonius himſelf, on a white horſe [58], at the head of a thouſand choſen Perſians, directed his attack. As long as he lived, the Perſians, both in their attack and defence, conducted themſelves well, and ſlew great numbers of the Spartans; but as ſoon as Mardonius was ſlain, and the band which fought near his perſon, and which was the flower of the army, was deſtroyed, all the reſt tured their backs and fled. They were much oppreſſed and encumbered by their long dreſſes, beſides which, they were lightly armed to oppoſe men in full and complete armour.

LXIV. On this day, as the oracle had before predicted, the death of Leonidas was amply revenged upon Mardonius, and the moſt glorious victory [59] which has ever been recorded, was then obtained

[58] *White horſe.*]—

But fierceſt was the conteſt where ſublime
The ſon of Gobryas from a ſnow-white ſteed
Shot terror.—There ſelected warriors charged;
A thouſand veterans, by their father's trained,
Who ſhar'd renown with Cyrus. *Athenaid.*

[59] *Glorious victory.*]—It was principally, ſays the author of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis, to the victories which the Athenians obtained over the Perſians, that they owed the ruin of their ancient conſtitution. After the battle of Platæa, it was ordered that the citizens of the lower claſſes, who had been excluded by Solon the principal magiſtracies, ſhould from that time have the privilege of obtaining them. The wiſe Ariſtides, who prevented this decree, afforded a calamitous example to thoſe who ſucceeded him in command; they were firſt compelled to flatter the multitude, and finally to bow before it. Formerly they diſdained to attend the general aſſemblies; but

obtained by Paufanias, fon of Cleombrotus, and grandfon of Anaxandrides. The other anceftors, which he had in common with Leonidas, I have before mentioned. Mardonius was flain by Aimnestus, a Spartan of diftinguifhed reputation, who, long after this Perfian war, with three hundred men, was killed in an engagement at Stenyclerus, in which he oppofed the united force of the Meffenians.

LXV. The Perfians, routed by the Spartans at Platæa, fled in the greateft confufion towards their camp, to the wooden entrenchment which they had conftructed in the Theban territories. It feems to me fomewhat furprifing, that although the battle was fought near the grove of Ceres, not a fingle Perfian took refuge in the temple, nor was flain near it; but the greater part of them perifhed beyond the limits of the facred ground. If it may be allowed to form any conjecture on divine fubjects, I fhould think that the goddefs interfered to prevent their entrance, becaufe on a former occafion they had burned her temple[60] at Eleufis. Such was the iffue of the battle of Platæa.

LXVI. Artabazus, the fon of Pharnaces, who had from the firft difapproved of the king's leav-

as foon as government had ordained, that a gratification of three oboli fhould be given to whoever affifted at them, they rufhed there in crowds, driving away the affluent by their prefence and their furies, and infolently fubftituting their caprices for laws.—*T.*

[60] *Burned her temple.*]—I fear the remark of Mr. Gibbon, that the ftyle of Herodotus is half fceptical and half fuperftitious, will here be thought true.—*T.*

ing

ing Mardonius behind him, and who had warmly, though unſucceſsfully, endeavoured to prevent a battle, determined on the following meaſures. He was at the head of no ſmall body of troops; they amounted to forty thouſand men: being much averſe to the conduct of Mardonius, and foreſeeing what the event of an engagement muſt be, he prepared and commanded his men to follow him wherever he ſhould go, and to remit or increaſe their ſpeed by his example. He then drew out his army, as if to attack the enemy; but he ſoon met the Perſians flying from them: he then immediately and precipitately fled with all his troops in diſorder, not directing his courſe to the entrenchment or to Thebes, but towards Phocis, intending to gain the Helleſpont with all poſſible ſpeed.—In this manner did theſe troops conduct themſelves.

LXVII. Of thoſe Greeks who were in the royal army, all except the Bœotians, from a preconcerted deſign, behaved themſelves ill. The Bœotians fought the Athenians with obſtinate reſolution: thoſe Thebans who were attached to the Medes made very conſiderable exertions, fighting with ſuch courage, that three hundred of their firſt and boldeſt citizens fell by the ſwords of the Athenians. They fled at length, and took the way to Thebes, avoiding the route which the Perſians had taken with the immenſe multitude of confederates, who, ſo far from making any exertions, had never ſtruck a blow.

LXVIII. To me it appears, that the conduct of

the

the Barbarians in general was decided by that of the Perſians. Before they had at all engaged with the enemy they took themſelves to flight, ſeeing the Perſians do ſo. The whole army, however, fled in confuſion, except the horſe, and thoſe of the Bœotians in particular, who were of eſſential ſervice in covering the retreat, being conſtantly at hand to defend their flying friends from the Greeks, who continued the purſuit with great ſlaughter.

LXIX. In the midſt of all this tumult, intelligence was conveyed to thoſe Greeks poſted near the temple of Juno, and remote from the battle, that the event was decided, and Pauſanias victorious. The Corinthians inſtantly, without any regularity, hurried over the hills which lay at the foot of the mountain, to arrive at the temple of Ceres. The Megarians and Phliaſians, with the ſame intentions, poſted over the plain, the more direct and obvious road. As they approached the enemy, they were obſerved by the Theban horſe, commanded by Aſopodorus, ſon of Timander, who, taking advantage of their want of order, ruſhed upon them and ſlew ſix hundred, driving the reſt towards mount Cithæron. Thus did theſe periſh ingloriouſly.

LXX. The Perſians, and a promiſcuous multitude along with them, as ſoon as they arrived at the entrenchment, endeavoured to climb the turrets, before the Lacedæmonians ſhould come up with them. Having effected this, they endeavoured

voured to defend themſelves as well as they could. The Lacedæmonians ſoon arrived, and a ſevere engagement commenced at the entrenchment. Before the Athenians came up, the Perſians not only defended themſelves well, but had the advantage, as the Lacedæmonians were ignorant of the proper method of attack; but as ſoon as the Athenians advanced to their ſupport, the battle was renewed with greater fierceneſs, and long continued. The valour and firmneſs of the Athenians finally prevailed. Having made a breach they ruſhed into the camp: the Tegeatæ were the firſt Greeks that entered, and were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from thence, among other things, the manger [61] from which his horſes were fed, made entirely of braſs, and very curious. This was afterwards depoſited by the Tegeatæ in the temple of the Alean Minerva: the reſt of the booty was carried to the ſpot where the common plunder was collected. As ſoon as their entrenchment was thrown down, the Barbarians diſperſed themſelves different ways, without exhibiting any proof of their former bravery; they were, indeed, in a ſtate of ſtupefaction and terror, from ſeeing their immenſe multitude overpowered in ſo ſhort a period. So great was the ſlaughter made by the Greeks, that of this army, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, not three thouſand

61 *Manger.*]—One of the later Roman emperors, I believe it was Caracalla, fed a favorite horſe from a manger of ſolid gold.—*T.*

escaped, if we except the forty thousand who fled with Artabazus. The Lacedæmonians of Sparta lost ninety-one men; the Tegeatæ sixteen; the Athenians fifty-two [62].

LXXI. Of those who most distinguished themselves on the part of the Barbarians, are to be reckoned the Persian infantry, the Sacian cavalry, and lastly, Mardonius himself. Of the Greeks, the Tegeatæ and Athenians were eminently conspicuous; they were, nevertheless, inferior to the Lacedæmonians. The proof of this with me is, that through the former conquered those to whom they were opposed, the latter vanquished the pride and strength of the Barbarian army. The most daring of the Spartans, in my opinion, was Aristodemus; the same who alone returning from Thermopylæ fell into disgrace and infamy; next to him, Posidonius, Phylocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan behaved the best. Nevertheless, when it was disputed in conversation what individual had on that day most distinguished himself, the Spartans who were present said, that Aristodemus, being anxious to die conspicuously, as an expiation of his former crime, in an emotion of fury had broke from his rank, and performed extraordinary

[62] *Fifty-two.*]—The Greeks, according to Plutarch, lost in all 1,360 men: all those who were slain of the Athenians were of one particular tribe. Plutarch is much incensed at Herodotus for his account of this battle; but the authority of our historian seems entitled to most credit.—*T.*

exploits;

exploits; but that Posidonius had no desire to lose his life, and therefore his behaviour was the more glorious: but this remark might have proceeded from envy. All those of whom I have spoken, as slain on this day, were highly honoured, except Aristodemus. To him, for the reason above mentioned, no respect was paid, as having voluntarily sought death.

LXXII. The above were those gained the greatest reputation in the battle of Platæa. Callicrates, the handsomest man, not only of all the Lacedæmonians, but of all the Greeks, was not slain in actual engagement: whilst Pausanias was sacrificing he was sitting in his rank, and received a wound in his side from an arrow. In the heat of the conflict he was carried off, lamenting to Aimnestus, a man of Platæa, not that he perished for his country, but that he died without any personal exertions, without performing any deed of valour worthy of himself, or his desire of renown.

LXXIII. The most eminent on this occasion of the Athenians is said to have been Sophanes, the son of Eutychides, of the Decelean tribe. The Deceleans, at some former period, according to the Athenians, did what proved for ever of the greatest advantage to them. The Tyndaridæ had, with a numerous force, invaded Attica, to recover Helen [63], and

[63] *Helen.*]—Helen, as every body knows, was the daughter of

and had driven away all the natives, without being able to discover where Helen was. On this emergence, the Deceleans are reported, and, as some say, Decelus himself, to have discovered what was required, and to have conducted the invaders to Aphidnæ, which Titacus[64], a native of the place, delivered into his hands. To this measure they were induced, partly from a sense of the infamy which was occasioned by the crime of Theseus, and partly from the fear that the whole territories of Attica would be ravaged. On account of this action, an immunity from taxes in Sparta, which has continued to the present period, was granted to the Deceleans, as well as a place of honour in the public assemblies. In the war which many years afterwards[65] took place between the Athe-

of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux: she was carried off by Theseus, when, according to Hellanicus, he was fifty years old. She was not then marriageable, probably not more than ten. This event consequently happened many years before Menelaus married her, and Paris carried her away. The Greeks were ten years assembling forces for the siege, which continued ten years. "This is the twentieth year of my arrival at Troy," says Helen, in the Iliad, at which time she must have been in her thirty-sixth year.—*Larcher.*

[64] *Titacus.*]—There was a town in Attica called Titacidæ, doubtless so called from this Titacus.—*Larcher.*

It is not mentioned by Spon, in his book de Pagis Atticis. —*T.*

[65] *Many years afterwards.*]—The battle of Platæa took place in the second year of the 75th Olympiad; the Peloponnesian war commenced in the spring of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, that is, near forty-eight years after the battle of Platæa.—*Larcher.*

 nians

nians and the Peloponnefians, the Lacedæmonians laying wafte the reft of Attica, fpared Decelea alone.

LXXIV. Of this people was Sophanes, who fo greatly diftinguifhed himfelf among the Athenians, though the particulars of his conduct are differently reprefented. He is reported by fome to have carried before him an anchor of iron, fecured by a leathern thong to his breaftplate; this, when the enemy approached, he threw on the ground, leaft their rufhing upon him might remove him from his rank: when the enemy fled he took up his anchor, and purfued them. Another report fays, that he did not carry a real anchor, but merely the impref-fion of one upon his fhield, which he continually moved about.

LXXV. Another noble action is told of this Sophanes: when the Athenians befieged Ægina, he challenged, and killed in fingle combat, Euryba-tes [66] of Argos, who had conquered in the Pen-tathlon. Sometime after this battle of Platæa, whilft exerting himfelf with great bravery as leader of the Athenians, in conjunction with Leagrus, the

[66] *Eurybates.*]—He was conqueror in the Nemean games; and Paufanias relates the particular manner in which he was flain. See our author, book vi. chap. 92. This Eurybates muft not be confounded with the Eurybates who betrayed Crœ-fus, and whofe name became proverbial for a traitor. The latter was of Ephefus, the former of Argos.—*Larcher.*

ſon of Glaucon, he loſt his life: he was ſlain by the Edonians at Datus [67], in a conteſt about ſome gold mines.

LXXVI. After this victory of the Greeks over the Barbarians at Platæa, a woman hearing of the event, came to the Greeks as a ſuppliant. She was the concubine of Pharandates [68], a Perſian, the ſon of Teaſpes; both ſhe and her female attendants were ſuperbly dreſſed in habits of the richeſt embroidery. Deſcending from her carriage, ſhe approached the Lacedæmonians, who were ſtill engaged in ſlaughter, and addreſſing herſelf to Pauſanias, who ſhe ſaw commanded, and whoſe name and country ſhe had before known: "Prince of "Sparta," ſaid ſhe, embracing his knees [69], "be "my

[67] *Datus.*]—Upon this place Meurſius, in his Lectiones Atticæ, employs a whole chapter, correcting errors concerning it committed by Stephanus and Heſychius. Stephanus the geographer places it in Thrace, Ptolemy in Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; Euſtathius on Dionyſius agrees with Ptolemy, placing Datus on the banks of the Strymon, a river of Macedonia.—*T.*

[68] *Pharandates.*]—This man commanded the Mares and Colchians. See book vii. c. 79.

[69] *Embracing his knees.*]—This was a common, and indeed very natural act of extreme humility, and earneſt ſupplication: innumerable inſtances occur of its being practiſed in ancient writers, and in Homer particularly. Priam, when he goes to beg of Achilles the body of Hector, throws himſelf at his feet, and embraces his knees:

"my deliverer from ſervitude; you have already "merited my gratitude, by exterminating thoſe "who revered neither gods nor demons. I am a "Coan by birth, daughter of Hegetoridas, grand- "daughter of Antagoras; the Perſian carried me "off violently from Cos, and detained me with "him." "Be under no alarm," anſwered Pauſanias, "both becauſe you are a ſuppliant [70], and "becauſe, if what you ſay be true, you are the "daughter of Hegetoridas of Cos, to whom, of all "his countrymen, I am moſt bound by the ties of "hoſpitality." He then recommended her to the care of the ephori, who were preſent, and finally, at her requeſt, removed her to Ægina.

LXXVII. After the departure of this woman, and when the battle was finally decided, the Mantineans arrived. Their not coming in time for the

> Unſeen by theſe the king his entry made,
> And proſtrate now before Achilles laid;
> Sudden (a venerable ſight) appears,
> Embrac'd his knees, and bath'd his hands in tears;
> Thoſe direful hands his kiſſes preſs'd, embrued
> E'en with the beſt, the deareſt of his blood.

Theſe ſix lines are expreſſed with much greater pathos and beauty by Homer in three.—*T.*

[70] *Suppliant.*]—See the Odyſſey, book vii. 216.—Pope's Tranſlation:

> To raiſe a lowly ſuppliant from the ground
> Befits a monarch.

engagement

engagement they efteemed a ferious calamity, and an incident for which they ought to undergo a voluntary punifhment. Having learned that the Medes, under Artabazus[71], had taken themfelves to flight, they determined to purfue them as far as Theffaly; from which they were with fome difficulty diffuaded by the Lacedæmonians: afterwards, on their return home, they fent their leaders into banifhment. The Eleans arrived after the Mantineans, and expreffing the fame regret, they alfo returned, and banifhed their commanders. Such was the conduct of thefe two people.

LXXVIII. Amongft the troops of the Æginetæ, affembled at Platæa, was Lampon[72], one of their principal citizens, and fon of Pitheas. This man went to Paufanias, giving him the following moft impious counfel: "Son of Cleombrotus, what you "have done is beyond comparifon fplendid, and "deferving admiration. The deity, in making you "the inftrument of Greece's freedom, has placed "you far above all your predeceffors in glory: in "concluding this bufinefs, fo conduct yourfelf, that "your reputation may be ftill encreafed, and that

71 *Artabazus.*]—He commanded the Parthians and Chorafmians, confting of forty thoufand men. See book vii. c. 66.

72 *Lampon.*]—This Lampon was of a family illuftrious no lefs for the prizes they obtained at the Ifthmean and Nemean games, than for their noble origin. He was the fon of Pytheas, to whom the 5th Nemean Ode of Pindar was addreffed; which fee.

"no Barbarian may ever again attempt to perpetrate atrocious actions against Greece. When "Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ, Mardonius "and Xerxes cut off his head, and suspended his "body from a cross. Do the same with respect "to Mardonius, and you will deserve the applause "of Sparta and of Greece, and avenge the cause of "your uncle Leonidas." Thus spake Lampon, thinking he should please Pausanias.

LXXIX. "Friend of Ægina," replied Pausanias, "I thank you for your good intentions, and "commend your foresight; but what you say violates every principle of equity [73]. After elevating "me, my country, and this recent victory, to the "summit of fame, you again depress us to infamy, "in recommending me to inflict vengeance on the "dead [74]. You say, indeed, that by such an "action

[73] *Of equity.*]—Pausanias altered materially afterwards. He aspired to the supreme power, became magnificent and luxurious, fierce and vindictive. See Thucydides, l. i. c. 128, 29, 30, &c.—*Larcher.*

[74] *On the dead.*]—This sentiment is frequently expressed by ancient and modern authors. Homer says,

T' insult the dead is cruel and unjust.

Dr. Young, in his play of the Revenge, makes Zanga say,

—— I war not with the dead.

And in the Complaint, night iii. 190.—

What guilt
Can equal violations of the dead;

The

" action I shall exalt my character; but I think it " is more consistent with the conduct of Barbarians " than of Greeks, as it is one of those things for " which we reproach them. I must therefore dis- " sent from the Æginetæ, and all those who ap- " prove their sentiments. For me, it is sufficient " to merit the esteem of Sparta, by attending to " the rules of honour, both in my words and ac- " tions: Leonidas, whom you wish me to avenge, " has, I think, received the amplest vengeance. " The deaths of this immense multitude most suf- " ficiently have atoned for him, and for those who " fell with him at Thermopylæ. I would advise " you in future, having these sentiments, to avoid " my presence; and I would have you think it a " favour, that I do not punish you."

LXXX. Pausanias afterwards proclaimed by a herald, that no person should touch any of the booty; and he ordered the helots to collect the money into one place. They, as they dispersed [75] themselves

The dead how sacred: sacred is the dust
Of this heav'n labour'd form.

But perhaps the most forcible and elegant sentiments on this subject may be found in the Antigone of Sophocles; where Antigone, in defiance of the edicts of Creon, at the peril of her own life, buries the dead body of her brother Polynices.

[75] *As they dispersed.*]—This circumstance and behaviour of the helots necessarily remind us of the four leprous men, 2 Kings, chap. vii. ver. 8.

themselves over the camp, found tents decorated with gold and silver, couches of the same, goblets, cups, and drinking vessels of gold, besides sacks of gold, and silver cauldrons placed on carriages. The dead bodies they stripped of bracelets, chains, and scymetars of gold; to their habits of various colours they paid no attention. Many things of value the helots secreted, and sold to the Æginetæ; others, unable to conceal, they were obliged to produce. The Æginetæ from this became exceedingly rich; for they purchased gold of the helots at the price of brass.

LXXXI. From the wealth thus collected, a tenth part was selected for sacred purposes. To the deity of Delphi was presented a golden tripod [76], resting on a three-headed snake of brass: it was

"And when these lepers came to the uttermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver and gold and raiment, and went and hid it; and came again, and entered into another tent, and carried thence also, and went and hid it."

The plunder of the Syrian camp by the king of Israel resembles in many other particulars what is here described of the Persian camp by Herodotus. See on the events related in this chapter, Diodorus Sic. l. ii. c. 26; Plutarch's Life of Aristides; Thucyd. l iii. c. 114; Ælian V. History, vol. ii. p. 680. where we are told that the Æginetæ were the first coiners of money. —*T.*

[76] *Tripod.*]—On the subject of ancient tripods, see Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 85. What Herodotus here says is confirmed by Pausanias, in Phoc. book, p. 633.—*T.*

placed

placed near the altar. To the Olympian god they erected a Jupiter, ten cubits high[77]: to the god of the isthmus, the figure of Neptune, in brafs, feven cubits high. When this was done, the remainder of the plunder was divided amongft the army, according to their merits; it confifted of Perfian concubines, gold, filver, beafts of burden, with various riches. What choice things were given to thofe who moft diftinguifhed themfelves at Platæa[78], has never been mentioned, though certain prefents, I believe, were made them. It is certain, that to Paufanias was given a tenth part of the whole, confifting amongft other things, of women, horfes, talents, and camels.

77 *Jupiter.*]—See Paufanias, Elif. c. xxiii.

" Near the fenate houfe is a Jupiter without an infcription, and another, which was dedicated by thofe who fought againft Mardonius at Platæa: the names of the ftates, whofe fubjects were in that action, being infcribed upon the bafe of the figure, which was made by Anaxagoras of Ægina. The Lacedæmonians are the firft, the Athenians next, then the Corinthians, fourthly the Sicyonians, then the Æginetæ, &c.—*Larcher.*

78 *At Platæa.*]—That fagacious and entertaining traveller, Mr. Coxe, relates in his vol. i. of Switzerland, that the people of Glaris, to the amount only of three hundred and fifty, affifted by thirty Switzers, not only repulfed, but vanquifhed with a prodigious flaughter, an army of fifteen thoufand Auftrians. " This furprifing victory," fays he, " gained by a handful of men, againft an enemy fo fuperior in number (inftances of which are by no means rare in the hiftory of Switzerland) render the wonderful combats of Marathon and Platæa perfectly credible.—*T.*

This battle took place on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, which correfponds with our September.

LXXXII.

LXXXII. It is farther recorded, that when Xerxes fled from Greece, he left all his equipage to Mardonius: Pausanias seeing this composed of gold, silver, and cloth of the richest embroidery, gave orders to the cooks and domestics to prepare an entertainment for him, as for Mardonius. His commands were executed, and he beheld couches of gold and silver, tables of the same, and every thing that was splendid and magnificent. Astonished at the spectacle, he again with a smile directed his servants to prepare a Lacedæmonian repast. When this was ready, the contrast was so striking, that he laughing sent for the Grecian leaders: when they were assembled, he shewed them the two entertainments; "Men of Greece," said he, "I have called you together to bear testimony "to the king of Persia's folly, who forsook all "this luxury to plunder us who live in so much "poverty [79]." These were the words which Pausanias is said to have used to the Grecian leaders.

LXXXIII. In succeeding times, many of the Platæans found on the field of battle chests of gold, silver, and other riches. This thing also happened: when the flesh had fallen from the bones of the dead bodies, the Platæans, in removing them to

79 *Poverty.*]—If this remark were made with truth with respect to the Greeks, how much more pertinent does it appear, comparing the Scythians with the Persians, against whom Darius unsuccessfully led a numerous army.—.

some

ſome other ſpot, diſcovered a ſcull of one entire bone, without any ſuture[80]. Two jaw bones alſo were found with their teeth, which though divided were of one entire bone[81], the grinders as well as the reſt. The bones of a man alſo were ſeen, five cubits high.

LXXXIV. The body of Mardonius was removed the day after the battle; but it is not known by whom. I have heard the interment of Mardonius aſcribed to various people of different nations; and I know that many perſons received on this account liberal preſents from Artontas, his ſon; but who it actually was that privately removed and buried the body of Mardonius, I have never been able to aſcertain. It has ſometimes been imputed to Dionyſiophanes, a native of Epheſus.

LXXXV. The Greeks, after the diviſion of the plunder at Platæa, proceeded to inter their dead,

80 *Without any ſuture.*]—Father Hardouin, in a note on a paſſage of Pliny, obſerves, that Albert, Marquis of Brandebourg, ſurnamed the German Achilles, had a ſcull without a ſuture.—*Larcher.*

Natural hiſtorians have remarked this peculiarity in the ſculls of many perſons. It has alſo been affirmed of the celebrated cardinal Ximenes.—*T.*

81 *Entire bone.*]—Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had his teeth of one entire bone, though diſtinct from each other. It has been related alſo of many.—*Larcher.*

each

each nation by themſelves [82]. The Lacedæmonians [83] ſunk three trenches; in the one they depoſited the bodies of their prieſts [84], amongſt whom were Poſidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates; in the ſecond were interred the other Spartans; in the third, the helots. The Tegeatæ were buried by themſelves, but with no diſtinction; the Athenians in like manner, and alſo the Megarians and Phliaſians ſlain by the cavalry. Mounds of earth were raiſed over the bodies of all theſe people. With reſpect to the others ſhewn at Platæa, I am told they were raiſed by thoſe, who being aſhamed of their abſence from the battle, wiſhed to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity. There is here a monument ſaid to be that of the Æginetæ; but this I have been informed was raiſed ten years after the battle, by Cleades of Platæa, the ſon of Autodicus, at the particular requeſt of the Æginetæ, to whom he was bound by the ties of hoſpitality.

LXXXVI. Having buried their dead on the plain of Platæa, the Greeks, after ſerious delibera-

82 *By themſelves.*]—The Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an appropriate burial; the other Greeks were interred promiſcuouſly.—*Larcher.*

83 *The Lacedæmonians.*]—We learn from Plutarch, that it was not unuſual to ſeparate the commanders from the common men.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. v. 14, 15, &c.—*T.*

84 *Their prieſts.*]—For τυς ιρεας, Valcnaer thinks we may read τυς ιππεας, the knights of whom we learn, l. viii. c. 124. Theſe were three hundred.—*T.*

 tion,

tion, refolved to attack Thebes, and demand the perfons of thofe who had taken part with the Medes. Of thefe the moft diftinguifhed were Timegenides and Attaginus, the leaders of the faction. They determined, unlefs thefe were given up, not to leave Thebes without utterly deftroying it. On the eleventh day after the battle, they befieged the Thebans, demanding the men whom we have named. They refufed to furrender them; in confequence of which, their lands were laid wafte, and their walls attacked.

LXXXVII. This violence being continued, Timegenides, on the twentieth day, thus addreffed the Thebans: " Men of Thebes[85], fince the " Greeks are refolved not to retire from Thebes " till they fhall either have deftroyed it, or you " fhall deliver us into their power, let not Bœo- " tia on our account be farther diftreffed. If their " demand of our perfons be merely a pretence to " obtain money, let us fatisfy them from the

[85] *Men of Thebes.*]—The gallant behaviour of Timegenides on this occafion will remind the Englifh reader of the fiege of Calais by Edward the Third, when Euftace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, behaved precifely in a fimilar manner. He declared himfelf willing to fuffer death for the fafety of his friends and fellow-citizens. The entreaties of Philippa, Henry's queen, induced the Englifh monarch to behave with more magnanimity than we find Paufanias did. The citizens of Calais faved their lives, received magnificent prefents, and were difmiffed in fafety. See the ftory admirably told by Hume, vol. ii. p. 442.

"wealth of the public, as not we alone, but all "of us have been equally and openly active on "the part of the Medes; if their real object in be- "sieging Thebes, is to obtain our persons, we are "ready to go ourselves, and confer with them." The Thebans approving his advice, sent immediately a herald to Pausanias, saying they were ready to deliver up the men.

LXXXVIII. As soon as this measure was determined, Attaginus fled, but his children were delivered to Pausanias, who immediately dismissed them, urging that infants could not possibly have any part in the faction of the Medes. The other Thebans who were given up, imagined they should have the liberty of pleading for themselves, and by the means of money hoped to escape. Pausanias suspecting that such a thing might happen, as soon as he got them in his power, dismissed all the forces of the allies; then removing the Thebans to Corinth, he there put them to death.

LXXXIX. These things were done at Platæa and Thebes. Artabazus son of Pharnaces fled from Platæa to the Thessalians. They received him with great hospitality, and entirely ignorant of what had happened, enquired after the remainder of the army. The Persian was fearful that if he disclosed the whole truth, he might draw upon him the attack of all who knew it, and consequently

involve himſelf and army in the extremeſt danger. This reflection had before prevented his communication of the matter to the Phoceans; and on the preſent occaſion he thus addreſſed the Theſſalians: "I am haſtening, as you perceive, with great expedition to Thrace, being diſpatched thither from "our camp with this detachment, on ſome important buſineſs. Mardonius with his troops "follows me at no great diſtance: ſhew him the "rites of hoſpitality and every ſuitable attention. "You will finally have no occaſion to repent of "your kindneſs." He then proceeded through Theſſaly and Macedonia, immediately to Thrace, with evident marks of being in haſte. Directing his march through the midſt of the country, he arrived at Byzantium, with the loſs of great numbers of his men, who were either cut in pieces by the Thracians, or quite worn out by fatigue and hunger. From Byzantium, he paſſed over his army in tranſports, and thus effected his return to Aſia.

XC. On the very day of the battle of Platæa, a victory was gained at Mycale in Ionia. Whilſt the Grecian fleet was yet at Delos, under the command of Leutychides the Lacedæmonian, ambaſſadors came to them from Samos. Theſe were Lampon the ſon of Thraſyales, Athenagoras ſon of Archeſtratidas, and Hegeſiſtratus ſon of Ariſtagoras, who were employed on this occaſion without the knowledge of the Perſians or of Theomeſtor,

tor[86], son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made prince of Samos. On their arrival, they sought the Grecian leaders, whom Hegesistratus addressed with various arguments. He urged, that as soon as they should shew themselves, all the Ionians would shake off their dependence, and revolt from the Persians; he told them that they might wait in vain for the prospect of a richer booty. He implored also their common deities, that being Greeks, they would deliver those who were Greeks also from servitude, and avenge them on the Barbarian. He concluded by saying, that this might be easily accomplished, as the ships of the enemy were slow sailers, and by no means equal to those of the Greeks. He added, that if they had any suspicions of treachery, they were ready to go on board their vessels, and there remain as hostages.

XCI. Whilst the Samian continued his importunities, Leutychides, either for the sake of some omen, or by accident, Providence so ordering it, asked him his name. He replied, "Hegesistratus." If he had intended saying any more, Leutychides prevented him, by exclaiming, "My Samian friend, "I accept the omen of your name, you may there-"fore return, after promising us on behalf of your-

[86] *Theomestor.*]—It may be seen book viii. c. 85. what it was that induced the Persians to give this man the government of Samos.—*Larcher.*

" self and your companions, that the Samians will " prove themselves zealous allies."

XCII. Saying this, he proceeded to execute what was proposed. The Samians, with an oath, engaged to become the confederates of the Greeks. Leutychides then dismissed them all excepting Hegesistratus, who on account of his name[87], he chose to take along with him. The Greeks, after remaining that day on their station, on the next sacrificed with favourable omens; Deiphonus, son of Euenius of Apollonia, in the Ionian gulph, being their minister.

XCIII. To this Euenius the following thing happened. There are in Apollonia, sheep sacred to the sun, which by day are fed on the banks of a river, that, flowing from mount Lacmon, passes through Apollonia, and empties itself into the sea, near the harbour of Oricum. By night they are kept by men, one of whom is every year chosen from the noblest and wealthiest of his fellow citizens. To these sheep, on account of some oracle, the people of Apollonia pay the greatest reverence,

[87] *On account of his name.*]—The ancients paid great attention, Greeks as well as Romans, to the presages to be drawn from names. When Augustus was proceeding to the battle of Actium, he met a man driving an ass; the man's name was Eutychus, which means fortunate, the name of the ass was Nicon, which signifies victory. He accepted this as a favourable omen, and after his conquest of Antony, he constructed a temple, in which he placed figures of the ass and its master. Many similar examples are to be found.—*T.*

and they are every night ſecured in a cave at ſome diſtance from the city. Euenius being once elected to this office, was ſo remiſs as to fall aſleep, when ſome wolves entered, and deſtroyed near ſixty of his ſheep. On diſcovering the accident, he made no perſon acquainted with what had happened, intending to buy an equal number to ſubſtitute in their room. It could not however be concealed from the people of Apollonia, who, bringing Euenius to trial, condemned him to loſe his eyes for ſleeping on his duty. After they had inflicted this puniſhment upon him, their cattle ceaſed to bring forth, and their lands to be fruitful. This had been before predicted by the oracles of Dodona and Delphi. The prophets being interrogated concerning the occaſion of the preſent calamity, replied, "That "it was becauſe they had unjuſtly deprived of his "ſight Euenius, the keeper of the ſacred ſheep." They were the perſons they ſaid who had ſent the wolves; nor would they ceaſe their vengeance till Euenius ſhould be ſatisfied in whatever manner he deſired. They added, that they themſelves would afterwards make him ſuch a preſent as would induce moſt men to think him happy.

XCIV. This reply was made by the oracles to the people of Apollonia. They, concealing this, commiſſioned ſome of their citizens to compound the buſineſs. The method they took was this: they viſited Euenius in his houſe, and ſeating themſelves by him, talked of indifferent matters, till they at length began to pity his misfortune. When this

this was introduced, they asked him what compensation would satisfy him, if the Apolloniatæ would engage to make it? As he knew nothing of the oracle, he expressed his wish to have the lands of two citizens, whom he specified, which he believed to be the best in the country; to this he added the most splendid house in the city. If he had but these, he said, he should be perfectly content, and no longer feel any resentment. When Euenius had made this reply, his visitors interrupted him; "Accept," said they, "what you require, and what, "in compliance with the oracle, your countrymen "are disposed to give you as an atonement for depriving you of sight." Euenius, on hearing the matter explained, was greatly incensed at the deception. The farms which he had wished for were purchased of their owners, and given him. He had afterwards the power of divination, whence he became famous.

XCV. Deiphonus was the son of this Euenius, whom the Corinthians had brought with them as soothsayer to the army. I have been informed that Deiphonus performed this office in Greece, availing himself of the name of Euenius, whose son he really was not.

XCVI. The Greeks having sacrificed favourably, set sail from Delos towards Samos. On their arrival at Calami[88] of Samos, they drew themselves up near

[88] *Calami.*]—Larcher in his Memoire sur Venus, p. 146. says, there was a temple at Samos erected to Venus, in a place full of

near the temple of Juno, and prepared for a naval engagement. When the Persians heard of their approach, they moved with the residue of their fleet towards the continent, having previously permitted the Phœnicians to retire. They had determined, after a consultation, not to risk an engagement, as they did not think themselves a match for their opponents. They therefore made towards the continent, that they might be covered by their land forces at Mycale, to whom Xerxes had intrusted the defence of Ionia. These, to the amount of sixty-thousand, were under the command of the Persian Tigranes, one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen. To these troops the commanders of the fleet resolved to retire: it was also their intention to draw their vessels on shore, and to throw up an intrenchment round them, which might equally serve as a protection to their vessels and themselves.

XCVII. After the above resolution, they proceeded on their course, and were carried near the temple of the Eumenidæ at Mycale, contiguous to Gæson and Scolopeës. In this place is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, built by Philistus, son of Pasicles,

of reeds, which occasioned the goddess to be called Venus amongst the reeds, ην οι μεν εν καλαμοις καλουσιν. This, says the learned Frenchman, is a valuable piece of intelligence, for we learn that there was a place in Samos called Καλαμοι, Calami, which explains this passage in Herodotus, concerning which the two last Editors have not said a syllable; neither has any geographer or author spoken of this place; but it is evident from Athenæus, l. xiii. c. 4. that it ought to be read προς Καλαμοισι.—*T.*

ficles, who accompanied Neleus the fon of Codrus, when he founded Miletus. Here the Perfians drew their fhips to land, defending them with an intrenchment formed of ftones, branches of fruit trees cut down upon the fpot, and pieces of timber clofely fitted together. In this pofition they were ready to fuftain a blockade, and with hopes of victory, being prepared for either event.

XCVIII. When the Greeks received intelligence that the Barbarians were retired to the continent, they confidered them as efcaped out of their hands. They were exceedingly exafperated, and in great perplexity whether they fhould return or proceed towards the Hellefpont. Their ultimate determination was to follow the enemy towards the continent. Getting therefore all things ready for an engagement by fea, and providing themfelves with fcaling ladders, and fuch other things as were neceffary, they failed to Mycale. When they approached the enemy's ftation, they perceived no one advancing to meet them; but beheld the fhips drawn on fhore, fecured within an intrenchment, and a confiderable body of infantry ranged along the coaft. Leutychides upon this advanced before all the reft in his fhip, and coming as near the fhore as he could, thus addreffed the Ionians by a herald: "Men of Ionia, all you who hear me, liften to what "I fay, for the Perfians will underftand nothing of "what I tell you. When the engagement fhall "commence, remember firft of all our common li-"berties; in the next place take notice, our watch-

"word is Hebe. Let thoſe who hear me inform "all who do not." The motive of this conduct was the ſame with that of Themiſtocles at Artemiſium. Theſe expreſſions, if not intelligible to the Barbarians, might make the deſired impreſſion on the Ionians; or if explained to the former, might render the fidelity of the latter ſuſpected.

XCIX. When Leutychides had done this, the Greeks approached the ſhore, diſembarked, and prepared for battle. The Perſians obſerving this, and knowing the purport of the enemy's addreſs to the Ionians, took their arms from the Samians, ſuſpecting them of a ſecret attachment to the Greeks. The Samians had purchaſed the freedom of five hundred Athenians, and ſent them back with proviſions to their country, who having been left in Attica, had been taken priſoners by the Perſians, and brought away in the Barbarian fleet. The circumſtance of their thus releaſing five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes made them greatly ſuſpected. To the Mileſians, under pretence of their knowledge of the country, the Perſians confided the gu..d of the paths to the heights of Mycale: their r..al motive was to remove them to a diſtance. By t..ſe ſteps the Perſians endeavoured to guard againſt thoſe Ionians, who might wiſh, if they had the opportu..ity, to effect a revolt. They next heaped their bucklers upon each other, to make a temporary rampart.

C. The Greeks being drawn up, advanced to

 attack

attack the Barbarians: as they were proceeding, a herald's wand was difcovered on the beach, and a rumour circulated through the ranks, that the Greeks had obtained a victory over the forces of Mardonius in Bœotia. Thefe things which happen [89] by divine interpofition are made known by various means. On the fame day that their enemies were flaughtered at Platæa, and were about to be defeated at Mycale, the rumour of the former victory was circulated to this diftance, rendered the Greeks more bold, and animated them againft every danger.

CI. It appears farther worthy of obfervation, that both battles took place near a temple of the Eleufinian Ceres. The battle of Platæa, as I have before remarked, was in the vicinity of the temple of Ceres; the one at Mycale was in a fimilar fituation. The report of the victory of the Greeks under Paufanias came at a very feafonable moment; the engagement at Platæa happening early in the morning, that at Mycale towards evening. It was foon afterwards afcertained, that thefe incidents occurred on the fame day of the fame month. Before the arrival of this rumour at Mycale, the Greeks were in great confternation, not fo much on

[89] *Which happen.*]—It is unneceffary to remark, that the fuperftition of the writer is in this paffage confpicuous. Diodorus Siculus is moft fagacious, when he fays that Leutychides, and thofe who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Platæa; but that they contrived this ftratagem to animate their troops. Polyænus relates the fame in his Stratagemata.—*Larcher.*

 their

their own account, as from the fear that Greece would not be able to withſtand the exertions of Mardonius; but after they had heard this news, they advanced to combat with greater eagerneſs and courage. The Barbarians teſtified equal reſolution, and both ſeemed to conſider the iſlands and the Helleſpont as the reward of victory.

CII. The Athenians, who with thoſe that accompanied them, conſtituted one-half of the army, advanced by the coaſt, and along the plain: the Lacedæmonians and their auxiliaries, by the more woody and mountainous places. Whilſt the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, the Athenians in the other wing were already engaged. The Perſians, as long as their entrenchment remained uninjured, defended themſelves well, and without any inferiority; but when the Athenians, with thoſe who ſupported them, increaſed their exertions, mutually exhorting one another, that they and not the Lacedæmonians might have the glory of the day, the face of things was changed; the rampart was thrown down, and a ſenſible advantage obtained over the Perſians. They ſuſtained the ſhock for a conſiderable time, but finally gave way, and retreated behind their intrenchments. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, ruſhed in with them; for this part of the army was compoſed of theſe different nations. When the wall was carried, the Barbarians gave no teſtimony of their former prowefs, but, except the Perſians, indiſcriminately fled. Theſe laſt, though few in

 number;

number, vigorouſly reſiſted the Greeks, who poured in upon them in crowds. Artayntes and Ithamitres, the commanders of the fleet, ſaved themſelves by flight; but Mardontes, and Tigranes the general of the land forces, were ſlain.

CIII. Whilſt the Perſians ſtill refuſed to give ground, the Lacedæmonians and their party arrived, and put all who ſurvived to the ſword. Upon this occaſion many of the Greeks were ſlain, and amongſt a number of the Sicyonians, Perilaus their leader. The Samians, who were in the Perſian army, and from whom their weapons had been taken, no ſooner ſaw victory incline to the ſide of the Greeks, than they aſſiſted them with all their power. The other Ionians ſeeing this, revolted alſo, and turned their arms againſt the Barbarians.

CIV. The Mileſians had been ordered, the better to provide for the ſafety of the Perſians, to guard the paths to the heights, ſo that in caſe of accident, the Barbarians, under their guidance, might take refuge on the ſummits of Mycale; with this view, as well as to remove them to a diſtance, and thus guard againſt their perfidy, the Mileſians had been ſo diſpoſed; but they acted in direct contradiction to their orders. Thoſe who fled, they introduced directly into the midſt of their enemies, and finally were active beyond all the reſt in putting them to the ſword. In this manner did Ionia a ſecond time revolt from the Perſian power.

CV. In this battle the Athenians moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and of them Hermolycus, the ſon of Euthynus, a man famous in the Pancratium. This man afterwards was ſlain in a battle at Cyrnus of Caryſtus, in the war betwixt the Athenians and Caryſtians [90], and was buried at Geræſtum. Next to the Athenians, they who obtained the greateſt reputation were the Corinthians, Trœzenians, and Sicyonians.

CVI. The greater number of the Barbarians being ſlain, either in the battle or in the purſuit, the Greeks burned their ſhips, and totally deſtroyed their wall: the plunder they collected upon the ſhore, amongſt which was a conſiderable quantity of money. Having done this, they ſailed from the coaſt. When they came to Samos, they deliberated on the propriety of removing the Ionians [91] to ſome other place, wiſhing to place them in ſome part of Greece where their authority was ſecure; but they determined to abandon Ionia to the Barbarians. They

[90] *Caryſtians.*]—The Athenians had war alſo with the Caryſtians, in which the reſt of Eubœa took no part. It finiſhed by a treaty.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 98.

[91] *Removing the Ionians.*]—Twice, ſays the Abbe Bartelemy, in his Voyage du jeune Anacharſis, might this people have withdrawn themſelves from the dominion of Perſia; once by following the counſel of Bias, the other in complying with the will of the Lacedæmonians, who after the Perſian war offered to tranſport them into Greece. They conſtantly refuſed to forſake their reſidence; and if it be permitted to judge from their populouſneſs and wealth, independence was not eſſential to their happineſs.—*T.*

were well aware both of the impoffibility of defending the Ionians on every emergence, and of the danger which thefe would incur from the Perfians if they did not. The Peloponnefian magiftrates were of opinion, that thofe nations who had embraced the caufe of the Medes fhould be expelled, and their lands given to the Ionians. The Athenians would not confent that the Ionians fhould be tranfported from their country, nor would they allow the Peloponnefians to decide on the deftruction of Athenian colonies. Seeing them tenacious of this opinion, the Peloponnefians no longer oppofed them. Afterward the people of Samos, Chios, Lefbos, and the other iflands who had affifted with their arms in the prefent exigence, were received into the general confederacy, having by an oath promifed conftant and inviolable fidelity. This ceremony performed, they failed towards the Hellefpont, meaning to deftroy the bridge, which they expected to find in its original ftate.

CVII. The Barbarians who faved themfelves by flight, came to the heights of Mycale; and thence efcaped in no great numbers to Sardis. During the retreat, Mafiftes fon of Darius, who had been prefent at the late unfortunate engagement, feverely reproached Artayntes the commander in chief: amongft other things, he faid, that in the execution of his duty he had behaved more like a woman[92] than

[92] *Like a woman.*]—This reproach feems anciently to have been confidered as the moft contemptuous that could be imagined.

than a man, and had materially injured the intereſts of his maſter. To ſay that a man is more daſtardly than a woman is with the Perſians the moſt infamous of all reproaches. Artayntes, after bearing the inſult for ſome time, became at length ſo exaſperated, that he drew his ſcymitar, intending to kill Maſiſtes. He was prevented by Xenagoras, ſon of Praxilaus, a native of Halicarnaſſus, who happening to be behind Artayntes, ſeized him by the middle, and threw him to the ground: at the ſame time the guards of Maſiſtes came up. Xenagoras by this action not only obtained the favour of Maſiſtes, but ſo much obliged Xerxes, by thus preſerving his brother, that he was honoured with the government of all Cilicia. Nothing farther of conſequence occurred in their way to Sardis, where they found the king, who after his retreat from Athens, and his ill ſucceſs at ſea, had there reſided.

CVIII. Xerxes, during his reſidence at Sardis, had attached himſelf to the wife of Maſiſtes, who happened to be there at the ſame time. He was unable to obtain his wiſhes by preſents, and out of

gined. Xerxes with this inveighed againſt his troops at Salamis. See alſo the ſpe[…]ch of Therſites in the ſecond book of the Iliad:

> O women of Achai[…], men no more,
> Hence let us fly, and let him waſte his ſtore
> In loves and pleaſures on the Phrygian ſhore.

The expreſſion in Greek is Αχαιΐδες ȣκ ετ Αχαιοι.—T.

respect

reſpect to his brother, he forbore to uſe violence. The woman, convinced that he would not force her, was reſtrained by the ſame conſideration. Xerxes, perceiving his other efforts ineffectual, reſolved to marry his own ſon Darius to the daughter of this woman by Maſiſtes, thinking by theſe means to obtain the more eaſy accompliſhment of his deſires. The marriage being ſolemnized with the accuſtomed ceremonies, he departed for Suſa. On his arrival here, his ſon's wife was received into his palace: the wife of Maſiſtes no longer engaged his attention, but changing the object of his paſſion, he connected himſelf with the wife of his ſon, the daughter of his brother. Her name was Artaynta.

CIX. This intrigue was afterwards diſcovered in the following manner. Ameſtris[93] the wife of Xerxes preſented her huſband with a large embroiddered and beautiful veſt, which ſhe herſelf had made; Xerxes was much delighted with it, and

[93] *Ameſtris.*]—Many learned men, and Scaliger among others, pretend that this princeſs is the ſame with queen Eſther. A vain ſimilitude of name, the cruelty of Ameſtris, of which Herodotus gives various examples, the barbarity with which Eſther treated the ten children of Haman, and the enemies of the Jews, have given riſe to this ſuppoſition; but Eſther was of a Jewiſh, Ameſtris of a Perſian family. The father of this laſt was a ſatrap, named Onophas, according to Cteſias, and Otanes, according to Herodotus. If any ſtreſs were to be laid on a mere name, we might as well affirm that Eſther was the ſame as Atoſſa, for ſhe was alſo called Haadaſſa; but in my opinion, we ought not to conclude that Darius was the ſame with Ahaſuerus.—*Larcher.*

putting

putting it on, went to visit Artaynta; in an emotion of love, he desired her to ask as a compensation for her favours whatever she wished, promising faithfully to gratify her. To this, impelled by the evil destiny of her whole family, she replied; "And will you really, Sir, grant me what I shall "ask?" Xerxes, never supposing she would require what she did, promised with an oath that he would. The woman confidently demanded his robe. Xerxes at first refused her, fearing that Amestris would thus be convinced of what she had long suspected. Instead of what she solicited, he promised her cities, a prodigious quantity of gold, and the sole command [94] of a large body of troops; which last is amongst the Persians esteemed a most distinguished honour. Unable to change her purpose, he gave her the robe; delighted with which, she wore it with exultation.

CX. Amestris soon heard of her having it, and thus learning what had happened, was exasperated, not against the young woman herself, but against her mother, whom alone she considered as criminal, and the cause of the mischief: she accordingly determined on her destruction. Waiting therefore for the solemnity of the royal festival, which is held once in every year, on the birth-day of the king, she took this opportunity of requesting Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. This festival is

[94] *Sole command.*]—Evelthen king of Cyprus was more wise: he gave to Pheretima any thing rather than an army.—See b. iv. 162.—*Larcher.*

called

called in the Persian tongue Tycta, in the Greek Teleion, or Perfect, upon which the king alone decorates his head, and makes presents to the Persians. Xerxes however thought the giving away the person of his brother's wife both cruel and detestable. He was satisfied that she was innocent of the crime imputed to her, and he could not be ignorant with what motive Amestris had made her request.

CXI. Conquered at length by her importunity, as well as by the law of custom, which compelled the king on every occasion of this festival to give what was required of him, he granted what she asked, though with extreme reluctance: giving therefore the woman to his wife, he told her to use her as she might think proper; but he immediately sent for his brother, whom he thus addressed: "Masistes, you are a son of Darius, and my brother; "and besides this, you enjoy a fair reputation; do "not any more connect yourself with your present "wife; I will give you my daughter in her place. "It is my pleasure that you accept of her, and repudiate the other." "Sir," replied Masistes, in great astonishment, "what am I to understand "from this discourse? would you have me reject "a woman agreeable to me in all respects, by "whom I have had three sons as well as daughters; "one of whom you have married to your own "son; and doing this afterwards marry your "daughter? Indeed, O king, though I esteem your "offer as the highest honour, I cannot accept it.

"Do

" Do not compel me to this meaſure, for you can " have no motive for doing ſo; you may find a " huſband for your daughter no leſs ſuitable than " myſelf; ſuffer me therefore to live with my wife " as uſual." To this Xerxes in great anger made anſwer: " You ſhall neither, Maſiſtes, marry my " daughter, nor continue to enjoy your preſent " wife, that you may learn in future to accept what " I propoſe." Maſiſtes upon this retired, ſaying only, " You have not, O king, taken away my " life."

CXII. Whilſt Xerxes was engaged in this conference with his brother, Ameſtris, ſending for the royal guards, mutilated the wife of Maſiſtes, cutting off her breaſts, and throwing them to the dogs [95]. She

[95] *To the dogs.*]—This horrid act of female cruelty in ſome degree juſtifies the ſtrong expreſſions of Ovid:

Sed neque fulvus aper media tam ſævus in ira eſt,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec lea quum catulis lactantibus ubera præbet,
Nec brevis ignaro vipera læſa pede,
Fæmina quam ſocii deprehenſa pellice lecti;
Audet, et in vultu pignora mentis habet,
In ferrum flammaſque ruit.

See ſome inſtances of extraordinary female cruelty recorded by Stephens, in his Apology for Herodotus, one of which is ſo horrible, as almoſt to exceed the imagination. A young woman, deſerted by her lover, by whom ſhe was with child, uſed violence to make herſelf miſcarry three months before her time, and then murdered her infant with the moſt ſhocking and terrible barbarity. It is impoſſible ſays Dr. Prideaux, that a woman of ſo vile and abominable a character as this Ameſtris was

She afterwards cut off her noſe, her ears, her lips, and her tongue, and in this condition ſent her home.

CXIII. Maſiſtes, entirely ignorant of what had happened, yet fearful of ſome impending calamity, returned haſtily to his houſe. When he ſaw the ſituation of his wife, he immediately, after conſulting with his children, fled with ſome adherents to Bactra, with the intention of exciting that province to revolt, and of doing the king eſſential injury. If he had once arrived in Bactra, amongſt the Sacæ, this I believe would have been accompliſhed; he was the governor of Bactra, and exceedingly beloved in his province. But Xerxes having intelligence of his deſigns, ſent a body of forces againſt him, who intercepting him in his progreſs, put him, his children, and his followers to death. So much for the amour of Xerxes, and the death of Maſiſtes.

CXIV. The Greeks, ſailing from Mycale towards the Helleſpont, were obliged by contrary winds to put in at Lectum: thence they proceeded to Abydos. Here they found the bridge, which they imagined was entire, and which was the prin-

was, could ever have been that queen of Perſia, who by the name of Eſther is ſo renowned in Holy writ, and is there recorded as the inſtrument by which God was pleaſed in ſo ſignal a manner to deliver his people from that utter deſtruction which was deſigned againſt them.—*T.*

cipal object of their voyage, effectually broken down. They on this held a consultation; Leutychides, and the Lacedæmonians with him, were for returning to Greece; the Athenians, with their leader Xanthippus, advised them to continue where they were, and make an attempt on the Chersonese. The Peloponnesians returned; but the Athenians, passing from Abydos to the Chersonese, laid siege to Sestos.

CXV. To this place, as by far the strongest in all that district, great numbers had retired from the neighbouring towns, as soon as it was known that the Greeks were in the Hellespont: amongst others was Œobazus of Cardia, a Persian who had previously collected here what remained of the bridge. The town itself was possessed by the native Æolians, but they had with them a great number of Persians and other allies.

CXVI. The governor of this place under Xerxes, was Artayctes, a Persian, of a cruel and profligate character. He had circumvented Xerxes when on his way to Athens, and had fraudulently taken from Elæos the wealth of Protesilaus[96], the son of Iphiclus. In Elæos of the Chersonese, was a tomb of Protesilaus,

[96] *Protesilaus.*]—He was a Thessalian: he went to the siege of Troy at the head of the troops of Phylace, Pyrrhasus, Itene, &c. He was killed by a Trojan as he disembarked. Various opinions are found in the Scholiast on Homer on this subject. Some

Protesilaus, in the centre of a shrine which had been erected to his honour. Here were considerable riches, a number of gold and silver vessels, besides brass, vests, and many votive offerings: of all these Artayctes possessed himself, having first insidiously obtained the king's sanction. "Sir," said he, "there is in this country the house of a Greek, "who entering your dominions with an armed "force, met with the death he merited. Give it "to me, as an example to others, not to commit "hostilities in your empire." The king, having no suspicion of his object, was without difficulty persuaded to grant him the house. Artayctes asserted that Protesilaus had committed hostilities within the king's dominions, because the Persians consider all Asia as their own[97], and the property of their reigning monarch. Having by the king been rendered master of all this wealth, he removed it to Sestos; the ground which it had before occupied at Elæos, he ploughed and planted; and as often as he went there afterwards, he enjoyed his wives in the sanctuary. At this time he was closely besieged by the Greeks, unprepared for defence, and not expecting these enemies who came upon him by surprize.

Some affirm, according to that, that the Trojan who slew him was Æneas, others that it was Euphorbus. Some assign to Hector the honour of his death, others to Achates.—*Larcher.*

[97] *As their own.*]—See book i. c. 135.

CXVII. Whilſt they were proſecuting the ſiege, the autumn arrived. The Athenians, unable to make themſelves maſters of the place, and uneaſy at being engaged in an expedition ſo far from their country, intreated their leaders to conduct them home. They, in return, refuſed to do this, till they ſhould either ſucceed in their enterprize, or be recalled by the people of Athens, ſo intent were they on the buſineſs before them.

CXVIII. The beſieged, who were with Artayctes, were reduced to ſuch extremity of wretchedneſs, that they were obliged to boil for food the cords of which their beds were compoſed. When theſe alſo were conſumed, Artayctes, Œobazus, with ſome other Perſians, fled, under cover of the night, eſcaping by an avenue behind the town, which happened not to be blockaded by the enemy. When the morning came, the people of the Cherſoneſe made ſignals to the Athenians from the turrets, and opened to them the gates. The greater part commenced a purſuit of the Perſians, the remainder took poſſeſſion of the town.

CXIX. Œobazus fled into Thrace; but he was here ſeized by the Apſinthians, and ſacrificed, according to their rites, to their god Pleiſtorus [98]: his

[98] *Pleiſtorus.*]—This deity, barbarous as the people by whom he was worſhipped, is totally unknown. The ſacrifices offered him

his followers were put to death in ſome other manner. Artayctes and his adherents, who fled the laſt, were overtaken near the waters of Ægos, where, after a vigorous defence, part were ſlain, and part taken priſoners. The Greeks put them all in chains, Artayctes and his ſon with the reſt, and carried them to Seſtos.

CXX. It is reported by the people of the Cherſoneſe, that the following prodigy happened to one of thoſe whoſe buſineſs was to guard the priſoners. This man was broiling ſome ſalt fiſh; having put them on the fire, they moved and ſkipped about like fiſh lately taken; the ſtanders-by expreſſing their aſtoniſhment at this, Artayctes, who alſo beheld the prodigy, ſent for the man to whom it had happened, and ſpoke to him as follows: "My Athenian friend, be not alarmed at this pro-

him induce me to conjecture, that it was the god of war, whom the Scythians repreſented under the form of a ſword. Theſe people, over a large veſſel, cut the throat of every hundredth priſoner, wetting the ſword with their blood. The ſame cuſtom prevailed amongſt the Huns.—See *Ammianus Marcellinus*, l. xxxi. c. 2. The Cilicians paid the god of war a worſhip ſavage like this; they ſuſpended the victim, whether a man or an animal, from a tree, and going to a ſmall diſtance, killed it with their ſpears.—*Larcher.*

Cruel as theſe cuſtoms may appear, yet prevailing among a rude and uncivilized people, they are more to be juſtified, than the unprovoked and unnatural inhumanity practiſed at Tauris. Here every ſtranger, whom accident or misfortune brought to their coaſt, was ſacrificed to Diana.—See *The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides.*—*T.*

"digy, it has no reference to you, it regards me "alone. Protefilaus of Elezos, although dead and "imbalmed in falt, fhews that he has power from "the gods to inflict vengeance on the man who "injured him. I am therefore difpofed to fatisfy "him for my ranfom. In place of the money "which I took from his temple, I will give him a "hundred talents; for my fon's life, and my own, "I will give the Athenians two hundred more." Thefe offers had no effect upon Xanthippus the Athenian general; he was of himfelf inclined to put the man to death, to which he was farther importuned by the people of Eleæos, who were very earneft to have the caufe of Protefilaus avenged. Conducting him therefore to the fhore where the bridge of Xerxes had been conftructed, they there crucified him; though fome fay this was done upon an eminence near the city of Madytus. The fon was ftoned in his father's prefence.

CXXI. The Athenians, after the above tranfactions, returned to Greece, carrying with them, befides vaft quantities of money, the fragments of the bridge, to be fufpended in their temples. During the remainder of the year they continued inactive.

CXXII. Of this Artayctes, who was crucified, the grandfather by the father's fide was Artembares, who drew up an addrefs for the Perfians, which they approving, prefented to Cyrus; it was to this effect: "Since, O Cyrus, Jupiter has given to the "Perfians, and by the degradation of Aftyages, to

"you,

"you, uncontrouled dominion, ſuffer us to remove "from our preſent confined and ſterile region to a "better. We have the choice of many, near and at a "diſtance; let us occupy one of theſe, and become "examples of admiration to the reſt of mankind. "This is a conduct becoming thoſe whoſe ſupe-"riority is conſpicuous; we can never have a fairer "opportunity of doing this, being at the head of ſo "many people, and maſters of all Aſia." Cyrus, though he did not approve what they ſaid, told them they might do ſo: but he added, that by taking ſuch a ſtep, they muſt learn in future not to command but to obey. It was the operation of nature, that luxurious countries ſhould render men effeminate[99], for delicacies and heroes were ſeldom the

[99] *Effeminate.*]—Hippocrates confirms what is here aſſerted by Herodotus. After deſcribing the advantages which the temperate parts of Aſia poſſeſs over Greece; he adds, that the men there are not naturally valiant, and are unwilling to ſupport fatigues and hardſhips. This ſentiment is approved by experience. Greece ſubdued Aſia, the Romans became maſters of both thoſe countries, and if they alſo conquered the Gauls, the Germans, and other nations of the north, it was becauſe theſe were undiſciplined and ignorant of the art of war. When they became ſo, they in their turn ſubdued the lords of the world, and diſmembered their empire. The Franks vanquiſhed the Gauls, the Lombards, and the Viſigoths of Spain. In a word, it is always to be obſerved, that the people of the north have the advantage over thoſe of the ſouth.—*Larcher.*

The ninth cannot be thought the leaſt intereſting of the books of Herodotus. The battles of Platæa and Mycale would alone claim attention, without thoſe beautiful moral ſentiments which we find every where interſperſed in it. The behaviour of Pauſanias after his victory, his dignity, moderation, and

the produce of the ſame ſoil. The Perſians yielded to theſe ſentiments of Cyrus, and abandoned their own. They choſe rather a leſs pleaſant country with dominion, than a fairer one with ſervitude.

and modeſty, are admirably deſcribed; his continence, with reſpect to the miſtreſs of Pharandates, may, for any thing I ſee to the contrary in either hiſtory, well be put on a par with the ſo much vaunted temperance of Scipio on a ſimilar occaſion. The concluding ſentiment, which teaches that the diſpoſitions of men ſhould be conformed to the nature of the ſoil and climate in which they are born, is alike admirable for the ſimplicity with which it is conveyed, and the philoſophic truth which it inculcates.—*T.*

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS CRITICISMS.

THE reader is here presented with ſuch annotations as were either omitted in the progreſs of the work, or have occurred to me ſince the different parts to which they more immediately allude, were printed off. The publiſhers deemed them of ſufficient importance to be printed in this form, and in this place.

I feel it neceſſary to ſay ſomething concerning the initial ſentence of the firſt book.

In my verſion, as it now ſtands, I have not ſatisfied a friend, whoſe opinion I reſpect no leſs than I value his eſteem. This gentleman conſiders the expreſſion of "Hiſtorical Eſſay," as not conveying an adequate explanation of the original Greek. He approves of the criticiſm in Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 59, to which I refer the reader.

Hiſtory, in the Greek, is derived from a verb, ſignifying to enquire minutely; and it is the opinion of Kuſter, as well as of other eminent critics

tics, that the word Hiſtory itſelf, in its original ſenſe, implies accurate enquiry, and ſtands properly for what the author's own reſearches demonſtrated to him, and what he learned by the information of others. According to this interpretation, the firſt words of Herodotus might be rendered thus:

"Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus produces this work, the reſult both of his own reſearches, and of the enquiries made by him of others."

This is certainly paraphraſtical, but the criticiſm is ingenious, and appears to be well founded. The material point to be eſtabliſhed from it is, that in the time of Herodotus, Ἰστοριη did not ſignify Hiſtory, the word then uſed in that ſenſe was συγγραφη.

Page 9.

Cimmerians.]—Many learned men are of opinion, that the Cimmerians were the deſcendants of the ſcripture Gomer. The reaſons alledged are of this nature. In the genealogical table of Moſes, we are told that Gomer was the ſon of Japhet. The Scholiaſts, and thoſe of them too which are moſt authentic, ſay, that Cimmeris was the ſon of Japetus. Japetus is by Apollodorus ſaid to be the ſon of Cœlum and Terra, that is

of

of Noah, who was called Vir Terræ. Of Cimmerian darkneſs I have ſpoken elſewhere. I omitted to mention, that the Greek noun Κιμερος, means a miſt or darkneſs, and Cimmerius, the Latin derivative, is applied to any thing dark or black. Strabo ſays that the ſoil of their country was black, from exceſſive heat: but this could not be peculiar to the country of the Cimmerians, it was probably common to other lands affected by the ſame cauſe.

Page 16.

Delphi.]—Swift made a point of always writing Delphos, upon which Jortin facetiouſly remarks, that he ſhould have ſubmitted to reaſon, and received inſtruction from whatever quarter it came; from Wootton, from Bentley, or from Beelzebub.

Page 23.

Scene of feaſting, &c.]—A ſimilar artifice is recorded of one of the Roman generals, I forget which, who, though reduced to the extremeſt want, ordered all the bread they had remaining, after a long ſiege, to be thrown over the walls amongſt the enemy. The beſiegers, fatigued and exhauſted, imagined that their opponents were

prepared to hold out much longer, and haſtily retired. See alſo Cæſar, in his account of the civil war, book iii. 48. where he tells us, that his ſoldiers made bread of a root called chara, adding, ex hoc effectos panes, quum in colloquiis Pompeiani famem noſtris objectarent, vulgo in eos jaciebant, ut ſpem eorum minuerent.

Page 29.

Mariandinians.]—Theſe people were the inventors of the ſhrill pipe uſed at funerals, which was ſometimes alſo called gingros (γιγγρος). Hence Μαριανδυνος αυλος, more Mariandyno vociferat. Pollux ſays this pipe was contrived by a Phœnician.—By a Phœnician theſe authors ſeem to mean, one who ſpoke the Eaſtern language, and not the Greek. Æſchylus has the expreſſion, Μαριανδυνον βοα.

Page 33.

To ſeventy years.]—See Pſalm xc. verſe 10. "The days of our age are threeſcore years and ten, and though men be ſo ſtrong that they come to fourſcore years, yet is their ſtrength then but labour and ſorrow, ſo ſoon paſſeth it away, and we are gone."

Page

Page 34.

Thus Crœsus.]—See Spenſer, canto ii. 14.

For who will bide the burden of diſtreſs,
Muſt not here think to live, for life is
wretchedneſs.

Page 42.

I relieved you.]—If tranſlated literally, it ſhould have been " I purified you," &c.

Page 84.

His own cavalry.]—Xenophon remarks, book the ſeventh of the Cyropædia, at the beginning, that the cavalry with which Cyrus proceeded on his march againſt Crœſus, were covered on their heads and breaſts with mails of braſs. This may ſerve perhaps as an explanatory comment on Jeremiah, chap. li. verſe 27. " Cauſe the horſes to come up as *a rough caterpillar* ;" that is, perhaps, with mails of braſs on their heads and necks.

Locuſts are compared to horſes and horſemen, in the book of Joel, chap. ii. verſe 4.—" The appearance of them is as the appearance of horſes, and like horſemen ſhall they run."

Page 91.

Fourteen Lydian youths.]—Achilles, in the Iliad, ſacrifices twelve Trojan youths at the funeral pile of Patroclus.

And twelve *ſad* victims of the Trojan line
Sacred to vengeance, inſtant ſhall expire,
Their lives effus'd around thy funeral pyre.

Again,

Then laſt of all, and horrible to tell,
Sad ſacrifice, twelve Trojan captives fell.

The reader will, doubtleſs, agree with me, that the word *ſad* is in both theſe places very ill and feebly applied by Mr. Pope in his verſion. The expreſſion of Homer is, αγλαα τεκνα,—Illuſtrious youths or ſons.

Page 96.

To avoid the determination of deſtiny.]—See Spenſer, book iv. canto ii. ſtanz. 51.

For what the fates do once decree,
Not all the gods can change, nor Jove him-
ſelf can free.

Several

Several writers ſuppoſe, that Herodotus in theſe words has declared his own ſentiments, and quotes them as a ſaying of the Hiſtorian. See Jortin's Remarks on Spenſer.

It was a common notion among the Heathens See Æſch. Prometh. 516. Ovid. Met. ix. 429.

Page 100.

A fuller's mill.]—The expreſſion in the editions of Herodotus, which precede Weſſeling, has been haſtily copied. The true reading is not επι κναφηϊȣ ελκων, but επι κναφȣ ελκων, torturing him ſo as to tear away his fleſh piecemeal upon a fuller's κναφος, that is, an inſtrument ſet round with ſharp points. This reading is ſupported by the gloſſary to Herodotus, by Timæus, whoſe Platonic lexicon is frequently interpolated from Herodotus, and by Suidas. Plutarch, in the treatiſe which profeſſes to ſhew the malignity of Herodotus, quotes this paſſage, and reads in the common editions, επι ταφȣ; but in Aldus, επι ναφȣ, which only wants a letter of the genuine reading. It is curious to obſerve M. Larcher's miſtake upon this place: he ſays, that Aldus's edition reads επι ναφȣ; interpreting of Herodotus what Weſſeling ſays of Plutarch, for Aldus's edition, which is now before me, plainly reads επι κναφηϊȣ ελκων.

Page

Page 117.

And expoſe him.]—Virgil has placed in the infernal regions, the ſouls of infants weeping and wailing.

Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo,
Quos dulcis vitæ exortes et ab ubere raptos
Abſtulit atra dies, et funere merſit acerbo.

It is an ingenious conjecture, propoſed in the Divine Legation, that the poet might deſign to diſcountenance the curſed practice of expoſing and murdering infants. See Jortin's 6th Diſſertation. Conſult alſo the Letter on the Delicacy of Friendſhip, republiſhed in the Tracts, by a Warburtonian, page 227.

Page 134.

Neither ſtatues.]—The ſymbols uſed by the ancients of their reſpective deities, were ſtones of different ſhapes. A round ſtone repreſented the ſun, thence ſtyled Alagabalus Deus rotundus; Bochart and Selden. A little poliſhed ſtone was the earth, thence Cybele called Agditis and Agdiſtes.

A ſquare

A ſquare rude ſtone was Bacchus; the Caaba of the Arabs.

Arnobius ſays, that Cybele was repreſented by a ſmall ſtone of a dark and black colour. See alſo Prudentius peri Steph.

> Lapis *nigellus* evehendus eſſedo
> Muliebris oris clauſus argento ſedet, &c.

Page 154.

Æolian cities.]—The Æolians of Leſbos affirmed, that they were preſent at the ſiege of Troy, under the command of Pylæus, whom Homer makes the general of the Pelaſgi. A plain confeſſion, that they were then called Pelaſgi as well as others.

Page 155.

For *Methynnæans* read *Methymnæans.*

Page 164.

Tarteſſus ſtood between the two branches of the river Bætis, which it formed in its paſſage through the lake Libyſtinus, and moſt commodious, in conſequence, it was for the purpoſes of

navigation and trade. This people gave their name not only to the iſland and river on which their city was built, but alſo to the whole country, which was called Tarteſſus. Bochart informs us, that Gades and Carteia were anciently called Tarteſſus, and thinks that the former was built by the Tarſhiſh of ſcripture, immediately after the diſperſion, and the two latter, long afterwards, by the Phœnicians.

Page 170.

Called Leleges.]—They are diſtinguiſhed from the Leleges by Homer, who makes them two diſtinct people. See book 10th of the Iliad:

> The Carians, Caucons, the Pelaſgian hoſt,
> And Leleges, encamp along the coaſt.

And here again I muſt cenſure Mr. Pope. Homer calls the Pelaſgi, δῖοι, which ſtrong epithet is totally omitted in the tranſlation.

Strabo, in his 12th book, calls the Leleges, πλανητας, wanderers.

Page 173.

Termilians.]—They are ſometimes called Telmiſſi. I believe they both mean the ſame thing, both

both names relating to the kind of armour in uſe amongſt them; the firſt denoting the ſhort ſword, or poniard, the laſt the quiver and arrows, for which the Cretans were famous, and both which Herodotus appropriates to the Lycians, in book the 7th.

From their fathers, and not from their mothers.]—They alſo called themſelves ſons of Thetis, as I have mentioned in another place; this probably they did in conſequence of the ſtrange cuſtom here mentioned, and to confront the like ridiculous fictions of other nations.

Moreover, over the different companies (τα Συσσιτια, or Ανδρεια) into which the Cretans were divided, a woman preſided, had the care and management of the whole family, provided for them, and at table diſtributed the choiceſt pieces to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either at home or abroad. This female government aroſe from the foregoing plea, their pretended deſcent from Thetis: but the youth under ſeventeen were under the care of a maſter, who was called their father. See Meurſius, c. 16, 17. Creta.

Page 188.

Choaſpes.]—Add, to the note from Jortin,

the following, from the posthumous works of the same writer:

If we examine the assertion of Milton, as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of Choaspes, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus, Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Athenæus, Dionysius, Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes or Eulæus as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, and have called it βασιλικον υδωρ, regia lympha; but none have said they alone drank it. I say Choaspes or Eulæus, because some make them the same, others make them different rivers.

Jortin then adds from Ælian, as a proof that the subjects of the Persian king might drink, the anecdote which I have quoted at length.

Mention is made, continues Jortin, by Agathocles, of a certain water which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find in Athenæus, Agathocles says, that there is in Persia a water called Golden; that it consists of seventy streams; that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son; and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.

It appears not that the golden water, and the

water

water of Choaſpes were the ſame. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that the king alone drank of that water of Choaſpes, which was boiled and barrelled up for his uſe in his military expeditions.

Jortin concludes by ſaying, that Milton, by his calling it Amber Stream, ſeems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. To me, this does not ſeem likely; I think Milton would not have ſcrupled to have called it at once Golden Stream, if he had thought of the paſſage from Athenæus before quoted.

Page 195.

The boats—made of ſkins.]—See the Scholiaſt to Apollonius Rhodius, book ii. verſe 168. where we are told, that anciently all the inhabitants of the ſea coaſts made their rafts and boats of paſſage of the ſkins of beaſts.

Page 197.

Eneti.]—This people, from whom perhaps the Venetians of Italy are deſcended, Homer mentions as famous for their breed of mules:

The Paphlagonians Pylæmenes rules,
Where rich Henetia breeds her ſavage mules.

Before I proceed, I muſt point out a ſingular error of Mr. Pope; any reader would imagine that Pylæmenes, as it ſtands in his tranſlation, had the penultimate long; on the contrary it is ſhort. There is nothing like rich Henetia in Homer; he ſimply ſays, εξ Ενετων. Upon the above lines of Homer, I have ſomewhere ſeen it remarked, that probably the poet here intended to inform us, that the Eneti were the firſt people who purſued and cultivated the breed of mules. They were certainly ſo famous for this heterogeneous mixture, that Ενετις and Ενετος denote that particular foal of the horſe and the mule, which the Eneti bred.—See *Heſychius*.

A remarkable verſe occurs in Geneſis, ſee chapter xxxvi. verſe 24. "These are the children of Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah: this was that Anah, who *found the mules* in the wilderneſs, as he fed the aſſes of Zibeon his father." Does not this mean that Anah was the firſt author and contriver of this unnatural breed?

This mixture was forbidden by the Levitical law.—See Leviticus, ch. xix. ver. 19. "Thou ſhalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverſe kind."

Is it impoſſible that from Anah the Eneti might take their name? Strabo informs us that the Eneti of Aſia were called afterwards Cappadocians, which means breakers of horſes; and he adds, that they who marched to the aſſiſtance of Troy, were eſteemed a part of the *Leuco-Syri.*

Page 200.

Funeral lamentations.]—The cuſtom of hiring people to lament at funerals is of very great antiquity. Many paſſages in the Old Teſtament ſeem to allude to this.—Jeremiah, xvi. 5. Baruch, vi. 32. "They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feaſt when one is dead."

A ſimilar cuſtom prevails to this day in Ireland, where, as I have been informed, old women are hired to roar and cry at funerals.

Page 203.

Araxes.]—See Spenſer's Fairy Queen, book iv. canto 11. ſtanza 21.

Oraxes feared for great Cyrus' ſake.

Inſtead of Oraxes, it ought to be Araxes.—See *Jortin.*

Virgil alludes to the tempeſtuous violence of this river, Æn. viii. 728.

Pontem indignatus Araxes.

See alſo Chardin, tom. i. p. 181.

" On a bati diverſes fois des ponts deſſus l'Araxe, mais quelques forts et maſſifs qu'ils fuſſent, comme il paroit a des arches qui ſont encore entiers, ils n'ont pu tenir contre l'effort du fleuve. Il eſt ſi furieux lorſque le degel le groſſit des neiges ſondues des monts voiſins, qu'il n'y a ni digue ni autre batiment qu'il n'emporte."

Page 216.

Phrygians.]—The volumes of Greece and Rome abound with records of the Phrygians. Arrian tells us, that the Phrygians were the oldeſt of mankind, λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιοτατοι ανθρωπων, cited by Euſtathius in Dion. Their religious madneſs in the worſhip of their goddeſs Cybele renders them very remarkable in claſſic ſtory. They were remarkable for their effeminacy, and we have their character beautifully drawn by Virgil, in the contraſt which he gives us in the ninth Æneid, betwixt them and the ancient Tuſcans.

Vobis

Vobis picta croco & fulgenti murice vestis;
Desidiæ cordi; juvat indulgere choreis;
Et tunicæ manicas & habent redimicula mitræ.
O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per
alta
Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
Tympana vox buxusque vocat Berecynthia
matris
Idææ; sinite arma viris, et cedite ferro.

This citation from Virgil implies, that these were instruments more becoming a woman than a warrior. The proverb, *Phryx plagis emendatur* (see Erasmus Adag.) was contemptuously applied to all this nation.

Whose milk.]—Claudian has an allusion to this historical fact.—See his Poem in Eutropium, ii. 250.

Dat cuncta vetustas
Principium Phrygibus, nec rex Ægyptius ultra
Restitit humani postquam puer uberis expers
In Phrygiam primum laxavit murmura vocem.

Page

Page 221.

Brought there by the water.]—This idea is ſtrongly controverted by a modern traveller (Mr. Bruce). He tells us, that the maſters of veſſels ſtill pretend to know when they are approaching Ægypt, by the *black mud* which they find upon their plummet at the end of their ſounding line. It ſeems in his caſe they were egregiouſly miſtaken; for when the maſter, from the pretended circumſtance of this mud, ſuppoſed the veſſel within ſeven leagues of the coaſt, Mr. Bruce, by an obſervation, found they were ſeventeen leagues diſtant. "Neither," ſays he, "could the mud of the Nile make the additions to the land of Ægypt which Herodotus has ſuppoſed." The Eteſian winds blowing all the ſummer upon that coaſt to the weſtward of north, and a current ſetting conſtantly to the eaſtward, it is impoſſible that any part of the mud of the Nile can go ſo high to the windward of any of the mouths of that river. The action of theſe winds, and the conſtancy of that current, has thrown a great quantity of mud, gravel, and ſand, into all the ports of the coaſt of Syria.

"This," he continues, "every one knows to be the effect of that eaſterly current ſetting upon the coaſt,

coaſt, which as it acts perpendicularly to the courſe of the Nile, when diſcharging itſelf at all or any of its mouths, into the Mediterranean, muſt hurry what it is charged with on towards the coaſt of Syria, and hinder it from ſettling oppoſite to or making theſe additions to the land of Ægypt which Herodotus has vainly ſuppoſed."

Page 223.

With ſtones from theſe mountains.]—It has been a conſtant belief, that the ſtones compoſing theſe pyramids have been brought from the Lybian mountains, though any one who will take the pains to remove the ſand on the ſouth ſide will find the ſolid rock there hewn into ſteps. And in the roof of the large chamber where the ſarcophagus ſtands, as alſo in the top of the roof of the gallery, you ſee large fragments of the rock, affording an unanſwerable proof, that theſe pyramids were once huge rocks, ſtanding where they now are; that ſome of them, the moſt proper for the form, were choſen for the body of the pyramid, and the others hewn into ſteps, to ſerve for the ſuperſtructure and exterior parts of them.—Mr. *Bruce.*

Page 223.

For ſteep and ſandy mountain, read, ſtony mountain covered with ſand; and for theſe extend themſelves, read, this extends itſelf.

Page 238.

What I have rendered no breeze, Mr. Bruce tranſlates no fogs. The Greek word is αυρας; and Diodorus Siculus, l. i. c. 38. page 46. ſays the ſame thing, adding likewiſe, that it does not emit fogs. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe therefore, that Mr. Bruce is miſtaken in his reference, and intended to quote Diodorus and not Herodotus.

Page 242.

Nile overflows.]—The hypotheſis of Mr. Bruce to ſolve this phænomenon of the Nile's inundation is too long to inſert in this place. I therefore refer the reader to vol. iii. chapter 16. of his work.

I inſert from the ſame writer, the different names by which the Nile has been or is now diſtinguiſhed.

Among the Agow, a barbarous and idolatrous nation,

nation, it is called Gzeir, Geeſa, Seir; the firſt of which words ſignifies God; it is alſo called Abba, father. In Gojam, it is called Abay; by the Gongas on the ſouth of the mountains Dyne and Togla, who are Indigenæ, it is called Dahli. To the north of this mountain, its name is Kowaſs, both which laſt names ſignify a watching dog, the latrator anubis, the dog ſtar. In the plain country betwixt Vazuclo and Sennaar, it is called Nil, which ſignifies blue. The Arabs interpret it by the word Azergue. The next name by which it went was Siris. Pliny ſays it was called Siris both before and after it came into Beja. The name it obtains in Homer is Ægyptus, which Mr. Bruce apprehends was a very ancient name given it in Æthiopia. The Nile is alſo called Kronides, Jupiter; as alſo ſeveral other names, which are rather epithets of poets, than the permanent appellation of the river. Some of the fathers of the the church have called it Geon.—*Bruce*, vol. iii. p. 655.

Page 247.

Meroe.]—

Where the ſhadow both ways falls
Meroe, Nilotic iſle. *Milton.*

Page 254.

The women leave to the men.]—See the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, line 350. I give Franklin's tranſlation of the paſſage:

How like the unmanly ſons of Ægypt's clime,
Where the men ſit inglorious at the loom,
And to their wives leave each domeſtic care;
E'en they, my ſons, who ſhould have labour'd for me,
Like women idly ſit at home, &c.

Page 260.

Only linen.]—Spenſer, book v. cant. 7. ſ. 4.

There ſhe received was in goodly wiſe,
Of many prieſts that duly did attend,
All clad in linen robes with ſilver hem'd.

Page 277.

Cabirian myſteries.]—Bochart derives cabiri from a root, ſignifying deos potentes; but I have ſomewhere ſeen it derived from a Hebrew word ſignifying παρεδροι, ſocii participes.

Page

Page 299.

Hippopotamos.]—I have aſſerted that this animal is generally allowed to be the behemoth of ſcripture; Mr. Bruce is of a contrary opinion, and believes the behemoth to be the elephant.—See his Travels, vol. v. p. 88.

Page 325.

The lotos.]—See in Homer, Odyſſ. ix. 94. the extraordinary effects imputed to the eating of the lotos:

The trees around them all their ſood produce,
Lotos the name divine, nectareous juice,
Thence called Lotophagi, which whoſo taſtes
Inſatiate riots in the ſweet repaſt;
Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his home, his country, and his friends.

Page 327.

With their nets.]—In the countries of the eaſt, it is at preſent a common practice to cover their beds with nets, by way of protection from the flies and other inſects.

Page 328.

One rudder.]—When Herodotus obſerves in this place, that theſe veſſels had *one* rudder, it looks as if other ſhips had two.—See Claudian, cenſ. Hor. vi. 132.

> Qualis piratica puppis
> Orba gubernaculis.

Diod. l. lxxv. p. 845. mentions five hundred ſhips which had one rudder in the ſtern and another at the prow.—*Jortin.*

But Dr. Jortin muſt have ſeen abundant proof in ancient authors, that this was not uſual: ſuch might eaſily be produced.

Page 352.

Great enormity.]—It was Saturn, according to the poets and hiſtorians, who firſt introduced the deteſtable cuſtom of human ſacrifices. The Saturn of the heathens, according to the beſt writers, was the Abraham of Scripture. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, &c. there are two curious diſſertations on the ſubject of human ſacrifices; the one aſſerting the truth of theſe on the authorities of Manethon, Sanchoniathon, Herodotus, Pauſanias, Joſephus, &c. &c. by M. l'Abbé de Boiſſy; the other by M. Monin, denying them altogether, from the reaſon of the thing itſelf, and

from want of ſufficient and ſatisfactory evidence. The principal arguments of both may be ſeen in the Choix des Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, &c. publiſhed in this country by Maty.

Page 390.

The ſun, &c.]—See Spenſer's Fairy Queen, book v. ſtanza 8.

And if to theſe Ægyptians, wizards old,
Which in ſtar-read were wont to have inſight,
Faith may be given, it is by them told,
That ſince the time they firſt took the ſun's
height,
Four times his place he ſhifted hath in ſight,
And twice hath riſen where he now doth weſt,
And weſted twice where he ought riſe aright.

Page 394.

Pan.]—Pan is generally thrown into the retinue of the Thracian Bacchus, and made one of his diſorderly rout. He is ſometimes, however, found in more decent company. At Archonneſus he was the principal miniſter of the goddeſs Cybele. Valerius Flaccus acquaints us, that the conſternation into which the city was thrown was owing to the

alarm which Pan had raiſed by the expreſs order of Cybele:

> Rupta quies, deus ancipitem lymphaverat
> urbem,
> Mygdoniæ Pan juſſa ferens ſæviſſima matris.

Page 398.

Temple of Epheſus.]—According to Pliny, l. xvi. c. 46. this temple was fourteen years in building. The magnificence of the ſtructure, and the ſilver ſhrines of the goddeſs, are ſpoken of, Acts, xix. 24, 27.—Theſe ſhrines were perhaps models of the temple and of the image of the goddeſs placed in the interior chambers of the building for private devotion, like the ſilver crucifixes and madonas in the Roman churches. The number of craftſmen employed in this trade proves that theſe ſhrines were much in uſe. The Epheſians, on account of this ſplendid temple, claimed in after times precedence, ſtiling themſelves on their coins and medals πρωτοι της Ασιας.

The church of Epheſus was one of the ſeven to which the epiſtles in the Revelations were directed, and was particularly condemned for a levity and indolence of temper, having left her firſt love, ch. ii. 4. that is, the purity of her firſt faith.

Page

Page 406.

Voyage of plunder.]—The Carians were notorious pirates, hence Καρβανος the son of a Carian, became an appellation for a notorious robber; and ες Μακαρας, a common form of imprecation, implying, may you fall into the hands of the pirates.

Page 420.

Highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms.]—As long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters.—*Gibbon.*

Page 425.

This Amasis.]—The conduct of this prince may properly be compared to that of our English Harry, who, when young, gave himself up to all manner of excesses, but who, when he succeeded to the crown, supported his honours with the truest dignity. The subsequent behaviour of Amasis to the oracles, in like manner may be contrasted with that of the English monarch to the lord chief jus-

tice, who committed him to priſon for ſtriking him:

> You did commit me;
> For which I do commit into your hand
> Th' unſtain'd ſword, that you have us'd to bear,
> With this remembrance, that you uſe the ſame
> With the like bold, juſt, and impartial ſpirit,
> As you have done 'gainſt me. There is my hand.

Page 434.

For *Æax*, read *Æaces.*

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Page 5.

On this Ægyptian.]—Conſult the Medea of Euripides for ſome of the moſt beautiful and pathetic ſentiments, which can be imagined, on the ſubject of a wife's being deſerted by her huſband.

Page

Page 18.

He ordered the body.]—A ſimilar example of taking a prepoſterous but cruel vengeance on the body of a deceaſed enemy, occurs in the ſtory of Achilles, with reſpect to Hector, and of Alexander the Great, who, on the moſt minute and frivolous occaſions, affected to imitate that hero. See Quintus Curtius.

Page 27.

Lived to the age of, &c.]—"We travelled all the night, as far as Bacras, a large borough, the lord of which was a venerable old man, of a hundred and thirty years old, and who appeared to us as ſtrong and vigorous, as if he had not been above forty.—*Poncet's Voyage to Æthiopia.*

Page 33.

Mountain of ſand.]—"We ſet forward on the ſecond of October, early in the morning, and from that very day we entered a frightful deſert. Theſe deſerts are extremely dangerous, becauſe the ſands, being moving, are raiſed by the leaſt wind; they darken the air, and falling afterwards

in clouds, paſſengers are often buried in them, or at leaſt loſe the rout which they ought to keep."—*Poncet.*

So where our wide Numidian waſtes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes deſcend,
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the ſands, and ſweep whole plains away;
The helpleſs traveller, with wild ſurprize,
Sees the dry deſert all around him riſe,
And ſmothered in the duſty whirlwind dies.

Addiſon.

" Theſe lines," ſays Mr. Bruce, who quotes them, " are capital, and are a fine copy, which can only appear true by the original having been before our eyes, painted by the great maſter, the creator and ruler of the world."

Page 37.

Immediately inſane.]—Amongſt the ancients, madneſs was conſidered and termed a ſacred diſeaſe, inflicted on thoſe individuals who had been guilty of impiety. Oreſtes was ſtricken with madneſs for this reaſon:

" Quem Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius."

Page 39.

Smerdis.]—It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that the ſame perſonage who is here called Smerdis, Æſchylus, in his Perſæ, calls Merdis.

Page 44.

Crœſus.]—Spenſer, canto v. ſtanza 48. repreſents Crœſus in the dungeon, among the captives of pride.

There alſo was king Crœſus, that enhaunſt
His heart too high through his great riches
ſtore.

Page 53.

Polycrates.]—This perſonage has the diſcredit of having filled Greece with the miniſters and contrivers of voluptuouſneſs (Δημιεργων); and a cook of Laura was held in eſteem amongſt the nobility of Athens. See Athenæus, page 540.

Page 86.

If a falſhood, &c.]—This morality is not only not very rigid, as Larcher affirms, but it contradicts

 one

one of the moſt important objects in the education of the Perſians, the ſpeaking truth, which we are told by Herodotus, in more places than one, was not unfrequently violated, though in the Perſian diſcipline ſtrongly enforced.

Page. 121.

Camels.]—There has long exiſted a prepoſterous prejudice, with reſpect to the natural hiſtory of this animal, which is now removed by the ſure and deciſive teſt of anatomical experiment. All naturaliſts and travellers, ancient and modern, as ancient as Ariſtotle, and as modern as Mr. Bruce, (ſee his fourth volume) have aſſerted of the camel, that it has a fifth ſtomach or reſervoir, of great capacity, which by retaining water a moſt incredible time, pure and unmixed, enables the animal to perform thoſe long and fatiguing journies, which have been the admiration of mankind. Mr. Bruce ſays, that being reduced to the extremity of diſtreſs, from the want of water, he and his party killed two camels, and took from the ſtomachs of each about *four gallons* of water: it was vapid, and of a blueiſh caſt, but had neither taſte nor ſmell.

In contradiction to this poſitive aſſertion, I am informed, that an eminent naturaliſt, who has diſ-

ſected

fected not lefs than three camels, unequivocally denies the exiftence of any feparate ftomach or refervoir, different from thofe of all ruminating animals.

Page 147.

The lines which in this page I have quoted from Juvenal, are thus tranflated by Dryden:

For he who grafped the world's exhaufted ftore,
Yet never had enough, but wifhed for more,
Rais'd a top-heavy tower of monftrous height,
Which mould'ring crufh'd him underneath the weight.

Page 149.

For *he proceed* read *he proceeded.*

Page 156.

See the note.]—As ω γυναι is ufed here, the word mulier frequently occurs in Latin, which Dacier tranflates "Madame," and which Jortin thinks correfponds with our word Madam.

Page

Page 157.

Corinth.]—The women of Corinth were celebrated for their beauty. See Anacreon, Ode xxxii. Conſult alſo Athenæus, l. xiii. c. 4. where it is a little ſingular to remark, that in an epigram aſſigned to Simonides, we are told that the interpoſition of the Corinthian women with Venus, their tutelary goddeſs, delivered Greece from the arms of Xerxes.

Page 163.

Jupiter Liberator.]—The Greeks, after being delivered from the Perſian invaſion, worſhipped Jupiter under the title of Jupiter Servator (σωτηρ). On the coins of Diocleſian, he is called Jupiter Conſervator.

Page 170.

The following is the tranſlation of, or rather parody upon, the lines of Juvenal inſerted in this page:

Now if one honeſt man I chance to view,
Contemning intereſt, and to virtue true,

I rank

I rank him with the prodigies of fame;
With ploughed-up fiſhes, and with icy flame;
With things which ſtart from nature's common rules;
With bearded infants, and with *teeming mules.*
Creech.

Page 183.

Mountains of Tauris.]—This peninſula is ſometimes called the Taurica Cherſoneſus, ſometimes ſimply Taurus, and here, by Herodotus, the mountains of Tauris. It ſignifies, as I underſtand, in the Chaldaic and Syriac languages, the Peninſula of Oxen. From theſe beaſts, of which the inhabitants were celebrated feeders, Euſtathius, Not. in Dion. v. 306, tells us, that mount Taurus received its name.

Page 188.

Like a ſerpent.]—This in a great meaſure correſponds with Virgil's deſcription of Scylla.

Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus: poſtrema immani corpore piſtrix
Delphinum caudas utero commiſſa luporum.

See

See alſo Spenſer's deſcription of the mermaids.

They were fair ladies till they fondly ſtrived
With th' Heliconian maids for maiſtery,
Of whom they overcomen were deprived
Of their proud beauty, and th' one moiety
Transformed to fiſh, for their bold ſurquedry;
But th' upper half their hue retained ſtill,
And their ſweet ſkill in wonted melody,
Which ever after they abuſed to ill,
T' allure weak travellers, whom gotten they
did kill.

See alſo his deſcription of Echidna:

Yet did her face and former parts profeſs
A fair young maiden, full of comely glee;
But all her hinder parts did plain expreſs,
A monſtrous dragon, full of fearful uglineſs.

Page 203.

It is indifferently written Boſphorus, and Boſporus; both ſignify the ſame thing, for φερειν and πορειν both have the ſame meaning with αγειν, to drive. See Heſychius, at the word πορευσαι. The inhabitants were herdſmen, which indeed the word implies. See Apollonius Rhodius, l. ii. ver. i. Their king Amycus is deſcribed with his herdſman's ſtaff,

inſtead

instead of a scepter, ver. 33. The people are represented as unlike the Argonauts in shape and manners, ver. 37; and Amycus as a savage giant, or son of the earth, ver. 38, 9. Valerius Flaccus thus describes the sea passing the straits.

Qua rigidos eructat Bosphorus amnes.

See also Apollon. Rhod. ver. 322, much better:

Υπερθε δε πολλον αλος κορθυεται υδωρ
Βρασσομενον.———

The pastures Flaccus describes as exceeding rich:

Pingue solum et duris regio non invida tauris.

But the behaviour of the inhabitants as savage and lawless:

Non fœdera legum
Ulla colunt, placidas aut jura tenentia gentes.

Page 215.

For *Sapinians* read *Sapirians.*

Page 227.

No stream nor fountain enters.]—This is far from

from being the fact, if credit may be given to Mr. Bruce. See vol. iv. of his travels, p. 664, 5, &c.

Page. 232.

Observances, &c.]—Those who would wish to be more intimately acquainted with the virtues and wisdom of the ancient Scythians, I beg leave to refer to Lucian. His Toxaris, or Dialogue on Friendship, is one of the most agreeable of all his performances. Toxaris, who is there introduced as the principal personage and speaker, was an accomplished physician, and a native of Scythia.

Tellus—wife of Jupiter.]—See Spenser's Fairy Queen, book i. canto 1—6.

Thus as they past,
The day with clouds was sudden overcast,
And angry Jove an hideous storm of rain
Did pour into his leman's lap so fast,
That ev'ry wight to shroud it did constrain.

Lucretius, i. 251.

Pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater æther
In gremium matris terraï precipitavit.

Virgil,

Virgil, Georg. ii. 325.

> Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
> Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit.
>
> *Jortin on Spenser.*

Page 235.

Hundredth captive.]—M. Monin, who, as I have before remarked, controverts the assertion that human victims anciently were sacrificed, says, that if allowed at all, it must be confined to prisoners of war, or condemned criminals. He quotes this sentence from Herodotus, to prove that even the Scythians, tout Scythes qu'ils etoient, were contented to sacrifice the hundredth captive.

Cut off the right arms.]—We are informed, in the Memoirs of the Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, that the negroes drive their captives like cattle before them. And, it is added, that if any of them, exhausted by fatigue, happen to linger in their pace, one of the horsemen seizes on the oldest, and cutting off his arm, uses it as a club to drive on the rest. The authority, however, on which this is related, does not seem to deserve the highest credit.

Page 241.

Divination.]—The hiſtory of divination is almoſt coeval with the hiſtory of mankind. It was firſt reduced to a ſyſtem in Ægypt, the Greeks borrowed it of the Ægyptians, the Etruſcans were taught it by the Greeks, and by the Etruſcans it was communicated to the Romans. The Roman religion (ſee Middleton's Life of Cicero) was divided into two branches; the obſervation of the auſpices, and the worſhip of the gods. The prieſts of all denominations were of the firſt nobility of Rome; and the augurs eſpecially were men of conſular rank, who had paſſed through all the dignities of the republic. This conſtitution of a religion, among a people naturally ſuperſtitious, neceſſarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the ſenate, and the better ſort, who, by this advantage, frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the tribunes. It is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the republic, though conſidered all the while by men of ſenſe as merely political, and of human invention.

Page 244.

Shave their heads in a circular form.]—The

Lycians,

Lycians about Phaſelis, plaited and folded their hair into a circular form, from whence they were called Cabaleis, and the hair or lock ſo plaited was termed Siſſe. Hence alſo they were named (τροχοκουραδες) round-heads. The poet Chœrilus, in Joſephus, hints that this cuſtom had a ſlovenly and dirty aſpect, and for this reaſon might, in later ages, induce the magiſtrates of Rhodes to enact a law, prohibiting the Rhodians to cut their hair. But they were ſo attached to this ancient practice, that neither magiſtrates nor people regarded the prohibition.

Cabal, in Arabic, ſignifies to plait the hair, and the Greek word σισση explains the manner in which this was done, being uſed for the *frontlet*, which the Jews were commanded to wear, and which was a thin plate ſurrounding the head from ear to ear. It was not a cutting of the hair, but a tying it up in a round form, κουριμως αναδεσθαι τας κομας. See Heſychius in voce κουρητες.

Whether Tibullus, in the following verſe, alluded to this Lycian cuſtom of cutting the hair, deſcribing their neighbours by the epithet *intonſos*, the reader muſt judge.

Frigidus intonſos taurus arat Cilicas.

L. i. *E.* 8.

Page 255.

Bacchanal.]—Upon the ſubject of the rites of Bacchus a whole volume has been written in verſe by Nonnus; and it is not a litle remarkable, that to the ſame pen we are indebted for a metrical paraphraſe of St. John's Goſpel, which is clear and uſeful as a commentary, but has little poetical merit. The author is ſuppoſed to have lived in the beginning of the fifth century.

Page 265.

Getæ.]—It is contended by many learned men, that the Scythians, the Getæ, and the Goths, were the ſame people. See Pinkerton's Diſſertation on the Goths.

Herodotus in this place makes an obvious diſtinction betwixt the Scythians and the Getæ, though it muſt be granted, that he places them very near one another.

Page 275.

See note.—Daughter of Jeptha.]—It has been a matter of much and ſerious diſpute amongſt the learned, whether Jeptha actually ſacrificed his daughter. I, for my own part, ſcruple not to profeſs my decided opinion that he did not, but

that

that he consecrated her, for the residue of her life, to some religious employment in the temple.

If he had actually sacrificed her, he would have acted in positive disobedience to the Mosaic law, by which human victims were unequivocally forbidden. In confirmation also of his own parental feeling of tenderness and affection, he might have quoted the example of Abraham, of whom an easy commutation was in a similar case accepted. Dr. Jortin thinks it even "strange that any commentators should have imagined that she was sacrificed."—*Tracts*, vol. i. p. 380.

The reader will remember the beautiful episode of Idomeneus, king of Crete, in the Telemachus of Fenelon, where a like preposterous vow is described to have been literally performed.

See also the description of the sacrifice of Polyxena, in Ovid, which is thus beautifully alluded to in Virgil:

Oh felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,
Hostilem ad tumulum Trojæ sub mœnibus altis
Jussa mori. *Æn.* iii. 321.

Page 276.

Multitude of serpents.]—These serpents were no other than the Dibii, who fed their cattle on the

high grounds, and ſecuring themſelves in the faſtneſſes, and ſecret retirements of the mountains, made incurſions on the Neuri, and interrupted their ſettlements. See Heſiod, Διβαν οφιν κρητες.

Page 319.

Iraſa.]—The reader is firſt deſired to correct the miſtake of the printer in this page, and for *Traſa* to read *Iraſa,* and is then referred to the following note of Jortin on this place.

Milton writes it Iraſſa.

As when earth's ſon, Antæus (to compare
Small things with greateſt) in Iraſſa ſtrove
With Jove's Alcides.

Pindar mentions this place, Pyth. ix. but he writes it with a double *ſ.* In Herodotus, Iraſa is the name of a place; in Pindar, and his Scholiaſt, the name of a town.

Page 332.

By ſuch viſions, &c.]—See Virgil, Æn. vii. 86.

Huc dona ſacerdos
Cum tulit, et cæſarum ovium ſub nocte ſilenti
Pellibus incubuit ſtratis, ſomnoſque petivit,

Multa

Multa modis ſimulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio, atque imis Acheronta affatur Avernis.

Of which lines the following is Dryden's tranſlation.

The prieſt on ſkins of offerings takes his eaſe,
And nightly viſions in his ſlumber ſees;
A ſwarm of thin aerial ſhapes appears,
And fluttering round his temples deafs his ears;
Theſe he conſults, the future fates to know,
From powers above and from the fiends below.

See alſo Spenſer, book v. canto 7. ſtanz. 8. where Britomartis is repreſented as ſleeping in the temple of Iſis, and has viſions of what ſhould befal her. See Jortin on Spenſer.

Pledge.]—The Engliſh phraſe of, I'll pledge you, firſt, as it is ſaid, took riſe from the death of young king Edward the Martyr, who, by the contrivance of Elfrida, his ſtep-mother, was treacherouſly ſtabbed in the back, whilſt he was drinking.

Anciently, in this country, the perſon who was

going to drink, aſked any one of the company who ſate next him, whether he would pledge him, on which he anſwering that he would, held up his knife or ſword to guard him whilſt he drank.

Page 352.

See note.—Dipodes.]—The diſproportion betwixt the hind and fore legs is to be obſerved in various animals. The jerboa, the kanguroo of Port Jackſon, the camelopard, though indeed the contrary way, the hyæna, and the hare, are remarkable inſtances of it.

Page 376.

For *Myncinus*, read *Myrcinus*: alſo in page 388, correct text and note in like manner.

Page 425.

For *Biblos* read *Biblus*.

Page 449.

Phaleros.]—This word ought throughout the work to be read *Phalerum*.

VOLUME

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Page 3.

Sardis.]—As this city was one of the moſt celebrated in ancient hiſtory, for its dignity and wealth, the following ſuccinct account of the various maſters through whoſe hands it paſſed, may not be unacceptable.

On the defeat of Crœſus it came under the power of Cyrus. On the diviſion of the Perſian monarchy into ſatrapies, it became the reſidence of the ſatrap, who had the government of the ſea-coaſt. When the Ionians revolted from Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpes, it was burnt by the confederates, under the conduct of Ariſtagoras, ſee chapter 99 of this book. This was one of the principal motives which induced Darius to make war on Greece. It ſoon recovered its ſplendour, and ſurpaſſed all the cities of Aſia in its opulence. When Alexander the Great vanquiſhed the generals of Darius on the banks of the Granicus, it fell into his hands; but it finally came into the power of the kings of Syria. Attalus Philometer, one of the deſcendants of Antiochus the Great, bequeathed this among his other poſſeſſions to the Romans,

and three years after his death it was reduced into a Roman province.

For farther particulars concerning it, the reader may, with much ſatisfaction, conſult a Diſſertation, by the Abbé Belley, in the 18th volume of the Memoirs of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

Page 7.

Youths caſtrated.]—It may not be improper to obſerve in this place, that the Hottentots have a moſt prepoſterous cuſtom of depriving their males of one teſticle, which is religiouſly obſerved through all the Hottentot nations, with a great deal of ceremony. See Kolben. It is worthy alſo of remark, that this cuſtom owes its riſe to ſome precept of the moſt remote antiquity; for the Hottentots confeſs it is a law, which has prevailed through all their generations, that no man ſhall have carnal knowledge of a woman before he is deprived of the left teſticle. A cuſtom ſo ſingular as this muſt ſurely have originated from ſome adequate cauſe: what this may have been, well deſerves the inveſtigation of the learned. Jupiter caſtrated Saturn; in Phrygia, Atys and the prieſts of Cybele were caſtrated: thus we ſee, that anciently it was conſidered as a religious rite. From

ſome

ſome traditions of theſe facts the Hottentots might alſo take up this practice.

Bochart is of opinion, that the fable of Jupiter's caſtrating Saturn aroſe from the ſtory which ſcripture tells of Noah lying in his tent, Gen. ix. 21. The Phrygian cuſtom of caſtrating the prieſts of Cybele might perhaps be owing to ſome erroneous and imperfect tradition of this event.

Page 36.

Crœſus].—By this menace of Crœſus we may reaſonably infer, that he was advanced from his captive and dependent ſtate to ſome office of truſt and authority. His name occurs no more in the hiſtory of Herodotus.

Page 37.

See note.—Swift.]—In oppoſition to what I have here intimated concerning the learning of Swift, I find, in a poſthumous work of Dr. Jortin, theſe ſtrong expreſſions.—" As to the knowledge which Swift is ſaid to have acquired of the learned languages—*Cras credo, hodie nihil.*"—To ſuch reſpectable and high authority I willingly ſacrifice my own opinion.

Page 54.

Note, correct, *beat a drum*, for, *beat on a cauldron*.

Page 63.

His head veiled.]—We may infer from hence, that he *devoted* himself to the accomplishment of some determined purpose. The veiling the head constituted part of the awful ceremony of *devotion* among the Romans. See the form minutely and admirably described in Livy, book viii. where Decius Mus devotes himself for the preservation of the Roman army. After calling to the pontifex to perform the accustomed ceremonies, he was ordered, togam prætextam sumere, et *velato capite* manu subter togam ad mentum exerta, super telum subjectum pedibus stantem, sic dicere,

Page 85.

See the note.]—The story of Glaucus, as alluded to in Juvenal, is thus translated by Creech:

A trusted Spartan was inclin'd to cheat,
(The coin look'd lovely, and the bag was great;

Secret

Secret the truſt—) and with an oath defend
The prize, and baffle his deluded friend;
But weak in ſin, and of the gods afraid,
And not well verſed in the forſwearing trade,
He goes to Delphos, humbly begs advice,
And thus the prieſteſs by command replies:—
Expect ſure vengeance by the gods decreed,
To puniſh thoughts not yet improved to deed.
At this he ſtarted, and forbore to ſwear,
Not out of conſcience of the ſin, but fear;
Yet plagues enſued, and the contagious ſin
Deſtroy'd himſelf and ruin'd all his kin.
Thus ſuffer'd he for the imperfect will
To ſin, and bare deſign of doing ill.

Page 90.

Pentathlon]—On this ſubject I have ſomewhere ſpoken in a note, and enumerated the five exerciſes or conteſts which were on this occaſion celebrated. I ſhould have added, that learned men of modern times, and even the ancients themſelves, do not appear unanimous in their opinions what theſe exerciſes were. The verſe of Simonides, preſerved in the Anthologia, has appeared to many deciſive on this ſubject:

Αλμα, ποδωκειην, δισκον, ακοντα, παλην.

Nevertheleſs

Neverthelefs H. Stevens, in his Thefaurus, at the word πενταθλον, enumerating the five contefts, fubftitutes for ακοντιον, πυγμην, for doing which he affigns no authority.

Page 93.

Forewarned.]—See the elegant Excurfus of Heyne, at the end of the 6th book of the Æneid, on futurarum rerum *prædictiones*, in epico carmine. In this he enumerates the ufes which poets of all ages have made of the credulity and weaknefs of human nature, with refpect to their defire of knowing the future. The whole Æneis, fays he, ex oraculis, fomniis et vaticiniis pendet. Amongft the ancients, they who moft happily availed themfelves of this natural but prepofterous curiofity, were Homer, Æfchylus, Lycophron, Argonauticorum Scriptores, Virgil, Silius Italicus, Statius, and Lucan. Of the moderns, Spenfer, Ariofto, Taffo, Milton, Camoens, &c. &c.

Page 101.

Tegea.]—Tegeæus was one of the epithets of Pan. See Virg. Georg. i. 15.

Ipſe nemus linquens patrium, ſaltuſque Lycæi,
Pan ovium cuſtos, tua ſi tibi Mænala curæ
Adſis, o Tegeææ favens.

Page 106.

The reader is deſired to read Platæans with a diphthong throughout this work.

Page 122.

From Italy came, &c.]—Not unlike this enumeration of the ſuitors of Aganiſta, is Dryden's account of the knights who attended Palamon and Arcite, to decide their enmity before Theſeus.

Page 127.

Ye who are come hither, &c.]—See Dryden's Palamon and Arcite:

If wealth, or honour, or a royal race,
Or each, or all, may win a lady's grace,
Then either of you, knights, may well deſerve
A princeſs born; and ſuch is ſhe you ſerve;

But

But ſhould you combat till you both were
dead,
Two lovers canot ſhare a ſingle bed, &c.

Page 139.

Atoſſa enjoyed an almoſt unlimited authority.]—Atoſſa is the name which Pope applied to Sarah dutcheſs of Marlborough. See his Moral Eſſays, ep. ii. 115.

But what are theſe to great Atoſſa's mind.

The Perſian Atoſſa appears to have been an artful woman, and of a very intriguing ſpirit, fond of power, and uſing the moſt violent means to attain ſometimes the meaneſt ends; the parallel, according to the teſtimonies of moſt writers, ſeems pertinent enough.

Page 151.

Let the king remain at home.]—See 2 Sam. xxi. 17.

"Then the men of David ſware unto him, ſaying, Thou ſhalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Iſrael."

In our country, ſoon after the revolution, when William narrowly eſcaped deſtruction by the falling of his horſe, it was determined by parliament, that the ſovereign ſhould never again expoſe his perſon in battle.

Page 166.

Vine of gold.]—See Seneca's Epiſtles. Nemo gloriari niſi de ſuo debet.—Vitem laudamus ſi fructu palmites onerat, ſi ipſa ad terram pondere eorum quæ tulit adminicula deducit. Num quis huic illam vitem præferat cui aureæ uvæ aurea folia dependent. Upon which Jortin remarks: Illam inquit vitem, quaſi de aliqua vite aurea ſatis cognita loquens: de illa puto quam Ariſtobulus dederat Pompeio.

Mention is made by the ancient writers of ſeveral golden vines. According to Pliny, Cyrus, when he conquered Aſia, carried one away with him. See alſo Athenæus, book xii. where it is ſaid, that this vine of gold, adorned with the moſt valuable jewels, was depoſited in the bed-chamber of the Perſian monarch. See Jortin, Remarks on Latin authors.

Page

Page 207.

Cut off his legs.] --See Seneca de Ira.—At qui ut his irafci dementis eft, quæ anima carent, fic mutis animalibus, quia nulla eft injuria nifi a confilio profecta.

Jortin, in Remarks, at this paffage of Seneca, quotes the incident before us from Herodotus: after which he adds—

Canis vero caput horum et caufa malorum, an impune ifthuc habuerit, nefcimus—certe *equo* judice crucifragium merebatur.

Whether the dog, the firft caufe and occafion of thefe evils, efcaped with impunity, we are not told. Certainly, if the horfe were judge, he deferved to have his legs broken.

I have my doubts, whether Jortin in this remark did not, under the word *equo*, defign to convey a pun.

Some of my readers may probably thank me for treating them with an excellent Greek pun, which I find in the notes to Weffeling's Diodorus Siculus, vol. ii. p. 595.

Diofcurus, an Ægyptian bifhop, before he began the fervice, had the conftant cuftom of faying, ειρηνη πασιν (irene pafin) peace be to all. It was notorious, that the pious churchman had at home

a favourite

a favourite mistress, whose name was Irene, which incident produced the following smart epigram:

Ειρηνη παντεσσιν επισκοπος ειπεν επελθων·
Πως δυναται πασιν, ἣν μονος ενδον εχει.

The good bishop wishes peace (Irene) to all; but how can he give that to all, which he keeps to himself at home.

Page 217.

Wisdom and discipline.]—The character which Demaratus here gives of the Greeks, corresponds with that assigned to the Romans in the Cato of Addison:

A Roman soul is bent on higher views;
To civilize the rude unpolish'd world,
And lay it under the restraint of laws;
To make man mild and sociable to man;
To cultivate the wild licentious savage
With wisdom, discipline, and liberal arts,
Th' embellishments of life. Virtues like these
Make human nature shine, reform the soul,
And break our fierce barbarians into men.

Page 267.

Agamemnon descendant of Pelops.]—See Hesychius at the word Πελοπιδαι. The descendants of Agamemnon were therefore termed Πελοπιδαι. Πελοπιδαι Αγαμεμνονος γενος.

Page 270.

Discipline of an army.]—See book 2d. Homer Il. Pope's Version.

Full fifty more from Athens stem the main,
Led by Menestheus thro' the liquid plain.
No chief like thee, Menestheus, Greece could
 yield,
To marshal armies in the dusty field,
Th' extended wings of battle to display,
Or close the embody'd host in firm array.
Nestor alone, improv'd by length of days,
For martial conduct bore an equal praise.

Pope's version is here open to censure. Instead of "Greece could yield," the original is, "No mortal man was equal to him:

Τω δ᾽ ουπως τις ομοιος επιχθονιων γενετ᾽ ανηρ
Κοσμησαι ιππους τε και ανερας ασπιδιωτας.

The line "close the embodied, &c." the reader will perceive is entirely redundant.

Page

Page 287.

They exhibited him to the whole army.]—See Seneca de Ira.

" At mehercules vir magnus et juſtus, fortiſſimum quemque ex hoſtibus ſuis, et pro libertate ac ſalute patriæ pertinaciſſimum, ſuſpicit."

Page 295.

Boreas—Orithya.]—Of this ancient fable of Boreas and Orithya, Milton has made a moſt beautiful uſe in one of his minor poems. It was written when he was only ſeventeen, on the death of a fair infant dying of a cough:

For ſince grim Aquilo the charioteer
By boiſterous rape th' Athenian damſel got,
He thought it touched his deity full near,
If likewiſe he ſome fair one wedded not,
Thereby to wipe away th' infamous blot,
Of long-uncoupled bed and childleſs eld,
Which 'mongſt the wanton gods a foul reproach
was held.

Conſult alſo Ovid, Metamorph. vi. 9.

According to Apollodorus, lib. iii. Boreas raviſhed the daughter of Erectheus, as ſhe croſſed over the river Ilyſſus. That is, ſays Richardſon, ſhe was drowned in a high wind croſſing that river.

Page 361.

Of its contents.]—See, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, a diſſertation on the riches of the temple of Delphi, and an account of thoſe by whom it was at different times pillaged. We have had in this country a parallel of immenſe but uſeleſs riches, accumulated by ſuperſtition, and long preſerved by the jealous and vigilant hand of bigotry, in the ſhrine of Thomas a Becket at Canterbury. Theſe, however, like the wealth of the temple of Delphi, were in proceſs of time plundered and carried away by the violent and powerful. When Eraſmus ſaw at Canterbury the tomb of Becket laden with ſo many precious jewels, and other ineſtimable riches, he could not but wiſh that theſe ſuperfluous heaps of wealth might be diſtributed amongſt the poor, and his tomb to be better adorned with leaves and flowers, than to heap up all that maſs of treaſure to be one day plundered and carried away by the men of power; which was a prophecy moſt literally ful-

filled

filled in lefs than twenty years.—See *Jortin's Life of Erafmus.*

At the prefent day, the fhrine of "Our lady of Loretto" is in like manner remarkable for the fplendour and profufion of its riches, and will not improbably, in the courfe of fucceeding years, fhare a fimilar fate.

Page 397.

Note, for οφις read οφεις.

Page 408.

Women like men.]—Cicero in his Treatife de Off. i. 18. quotes thefe lines;

Vos etenim, juvenes, animum geritis muliebrem,
Illa virago viri.

Upon which Jortin remarks:

"We know not from what poet thefe lines are taken; they are, however, placed among the fragments of Ennius, p. 150, and are more likely to have come from his pen than any other."

This virago was perhaps Artemifia; be that as it will, the Latin poet feems to have borrowed the expreffion from Herodotus.

Page 443.

Herodotus.]—This ſeems anciently to have been a very common name. Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, gives a long catalogue of eminent perſons who bore the name of Herodotus. I will mention ſome of them.

Herodotus, brother of Democritus, ſpoken of by Ælian, V. H. iv. 20. Herodotus, a comedian, in great favour with king Antiochus, as Athenæus aſſerts, book i. 4. Herodotus a friend of Epicurus; ſee Laertius, b. x. ſect. 4. Herodotus the muſician; Herodotus a Lycian, commended by Athenæus, l. iii. with many others.

Page 456.

I chooſe in this place to make a few obſervations on the Athenians, which, after ſo many learned works on the ſubject, may perhaps at firſt appear ſuperfluous; they cannot however be deemed impertinent, and, in ſo fertile a topic, ſomething may have occurred to me novel enough both to intereſt and entertain the Engliſh reader.

Of the Lacedæmonians I remarked at the end of the preceding book, that the characteriſtic feature

ture was *fortitude.* It will, I fear, be found, that indolence was that of the Athenians: they were lovers of their eaſe, and averſe to labour. From the Trojan to the Perſic and Peloponneſian wars, it is the obſervation of Thucydides, their own hiſtorian, that they performed nothing worthy of being recorded; and Plutarch in ſome place paſſes the ſame cenſure upon them. Thucydides reſolves this hypotheſis into two cauſes, the barrenneſs of their ſoil, and the incurſion of pirates: the hiſtorian indeed endeavours to gloſs over the failings and follies of his countrymen; but their comic poet Ariſtophanes never ſpared them. See alſo the character given by Demoſthenes of the Athenians in his third Olynthiac. He tells them, that their *magiſtrates* were now become their lords, and they their ſlaves, courting every one who entertained them with ſports, or fed them with pieces of beef: what was ſtill more unmanly, they confeſſed themſelves under obligations for things that were their own. Voltaire, Hiſt. of Europe, part v. ſpeaking of the Chineſe, remarks, that the ſpirit of a nation is ever confined to the few who employ, who feed, and who govern the many. I know not whether this be true; but if the Athenian ſpirit is to be determined by that of the magiſtrates, the imputation I endeavour to fix upon them is true and juſt.

At Athens, from the great conflux of ſtrangers continually reſorting thither, many individuals of other nations were at length incorporated with the natives, and gave them a ſpirit and activity not naturally their own. The dangers alſo to which they were continually expoſed, from the Perſians, the Spartans, and the Macedonians, kept alive a reſolution which preſent diſtreſs made neceſſary. Polybius reſolves the Athenian valour into the ſame cauſe, and compares this people to mariners, who will obey the pilot, and navigate the ſhip with much diligence in a ſtorm, but when that is blown over, they deſpiſe their leaders and fall a quarrelling, l. vi. 488.

For the truth of this, I may appeal to the teſtimony and judgment of their lawgiver Solon, who found it neceſſary to animate the people with a ſpirit of induſtry, by ſundry edicts, and to force them to till and cultivate their lands, which lay neglected. To this end he required, after the example of the Ægyptian policy, that the magiſtrates ſhould enquire rigorouſly what ways and means each man followed to provide for himſelf, and ſeverely puniſh the idle: he ordained, that the parent who neglected to train his ſon to ſome buſineſs ſhould not be maintained by him in his old age. Notwithſtanding this and more, the Athenians continued to have in after ages the ſame

character

character as formerly, and the writers of other nations passed the same censure upon them, which their neighbours had done before. See Horace:

Ut primum positis *nugari* Græcia bellis
Cœpit et in vitium fortuna labier æquâ.

But with these soft and ensnaring arts of *trifling* and *luxury*, in which Athens from her infancy was versed, did she at length revenge herself on the Roman arms, and lead her captivity captive; Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.

When St. Luke says in the Acts, xvii. 21.—"For all the Athenians and strangers that sojourn there spend their time in nothing but in telling and hearing some new thing;" it is exactly the same character which their comic poet passes on them. See the Pax of Aristophanes, ȣδεν γαρ αλλο δρᾶτε πλην δικαζετε.

When St. Paul opened to them his commission, and preached Jesus and the Resurrection, the newness of the thing excited their curiosity: their unsteadiness also in their common amusements is thus finely ridiculed by Horace:

Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragœdis:
Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans
Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.

Homer applies a ſimilar remark to them in their military capacity, thus diſtinguiſhing their chief—

Amphilochus the vain,
Who trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring in his car,
Rode like a woman to the field of war.

I will ſubjoin a few words on Athenian ſuperſtition and idolatry, the rather as this is a ſubject which has been leſs copiouſly diſcuſſed.

In bigotry and ſuperſtition, in the pageantry and foppery of religious ceremonies, Athens was a ſervile copier of Ægypt. The Athenians were the factors of Ægypt, for uttering and diſperſing her idolatrous enchantments: ever unwilling to put themſelves to trouble, they would not be at the pains, out of the abundance of trumpery which Ægypt ſhewed them, to make a diſcreet choice, but adopted indiſcriminately the whole ſynod of her gods. They took them juſt as they found them, with all their inſignia and hieroglyphics, whoſe deſign and purport they did not know, retaining alſo their Ægyptian names, which they did not underſtand. But Ægypt was not the only mart at which Athens trafficked for ſuperſtition: Strabo cenſures the Athenians for picking up foreign gods wherever they could find them, and informs us, that they had naturalized many

religious

religious ceremonies of foreign invention, and were ridiculed for doing ſo by their comic poets.

I have intimated how well diſpoſed they were to give St. Paul a hearing, becauſe he ſeemed to be a ſetter forth of ſtrange gods; and no mark could be ſtronger of their inveterate ſuperſtition, than their erecting an altar to *the unknown God*. Such an inſcription could not fail of giving to one of St. Paul's eloquence a fine opportunity of expoſing ſo abſurd a worſhip; and he accordingly tells them, that as he paſſed through their city, and beheld their devotions, and eſpecially this altar, that he perceived they were in all things too ſuperſtitious. If Italy was firſt occupied by the Pelaſgi, or by Tyrrhenus and his colony, and the proper and original natives were the European or Aſiatic Ionians, we need not be ſurprized that Rome, as ſhe extended her conqueſts, enlarged her theology, till her faſti ſwelled to the Athenian ſize.

Quos colit ob meritum magnis donata triumphis,

ſays Prudentius contra Symmachum, and then adds theſe examples;

Jupiter ut Cretæ domineris, Pallas ut Argis,
Cynthius ut Delphis tribuerunt, omine dextro,

Iris

Iris Nilicolas, Rhodios Cytherea reliquit,
Venatrix Ephesum virgo, Mars dedidit Hebrum,
Destituit Thebes Bromius, concessit ut ipsa
Juno tuos Phrygiis servire nepotibus Aphros.

A medley then of devotions (σεβασματα, the objects of devotion) borrowed of every family of the earth with whom they had commerce, however discordant from or opposite to each other in temper and manners, and a long train of religious rites and ceremonies attendant on these, justify me in affirming, that *superstition* and *indolence* were the two great features of the Athenian character.

I have said nothing of the Athenian virtues, or of the respectable commerce they carried on: my only intention in this place was to point out two striking defects, which the prejudice of education might incline us to overlook.

The glory of teaching the Athenians civility, and of forming them into society by the gentle arts of persuasion, belongs to Theseus.—See the Theseus of Meursius. The body of men he collected together, Theseus named Αστυ, Astu, that is πολις, the city; afterwards he named it Athens. The Hebrew word ethan, or asper, suits very well with the situation of Athens. The epithet τραχεια, was bestowed generally on Attica by Thucydides and Plutarch; it agrees particularly with Athens,

which

which ſtood on a promontory, jetting out into the ſea. The Abbé la Pluche derives it from the Hebrew word ſignifying linteum; this correſponds very well with the idea of Minerva's ſkill in the art of weaving, and he obſerves that linen was the dreſs of the Athenians.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

Page 73.

There are two Diſſertations in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres and Inſcriptions, on the dates of the battles of Marathon and Platæa.

A SKETCH

A SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

IT may be obſerved of biography, that few things confeſſedly ſo uſeful have been ſo much perverted or ſo frequently abuſed. Perhaps it is neither unjuſt nor uncandid to add, that this has been in a peculiar manner the error of modern times. We have ſeen the lives of men remarkable neither for the ſplendour nor the extent of their accompliſhments diſplayed in formidable volumes, and obtruded on the world with a confidence which private partiality could not juſtify, and which a reverence for the public might well have moderated: we have ſeen the minute occurrences of domeſtic life, I had almoſt ſaid betrayed, and the little weakneſſes of exalted and amiable minds oſtentatiouſly enumerated, from the miſtaken idea of ſatisfying a curioſity beneficial neither

§ to

to ſcience nor to virtue. In writing ancient lives, this fault indeed cannot be committed; but even that ſpecies of biography has been much disfigured by the ambition of collecting every trifling hint that antiquity has left, and ſwelling out the reſt by vague and often very arbitrary conjectures. For my own part, I ſhould little ſuppoſe that I treated the Engliſh reader with becoming reſpect, if, in profeſſing to give a Life of Herodotus, I did not immediately inform him that my materials were not only very dubious but very ſcanty: ſuch however as they are, it would be no difficult taſk to imitate the example of many who have preceded me, and expand my obſervations into a ſerious volume. Were I to glean all that has been ſaid of my Hiſtorian, from the different books which I have neceſſarily read; were I to obey the ſuggeſtions of fondneſs and the impulſe of fancy, rather than thoſe of my cooler judgment and my regard for the correctneſs of hiſtoric truth, I have a ſubject before me which might be protracted at pleaſure. To me it ſeems acting a more conſiſtent part, once for all to declare, that
there

there is no regular account of Herodotus, either more ancient or more authentic than that of Suidas; and this is comprized in a very narrow compaſs. What all modern editors of his works have ſaid of him reſts chiefly on the relation of Suidas as a baſis, and I might labour in vain to find a better guide. I wiſh therefore my readers to underſtand, that what I ſhall produce will be derived from the ſame authority, with a few additional remarks ſuggeſted by paſſages produced in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, or the Prolegomena of Weſſeling.

It appears that the father of hiſtory was born at Halicarnaſſus, the metropolis of Caria. At what particular period may be collected from Aulus Gellius, book xv. chapter 23. who informs us that the three celebrated hiſtorians, Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, flouriſhed nearly at the ſame time. "At the commencement of the Peloponneſian war," ſays he, "Hellanicus was ſixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty." The Peloponneſian war began in the ſecond year of the eighty-ſixth

Olympiad: Herodotus muſt conſequently have been born in the firſt year of the ſeventy-fourth Olympiad. This was four years before Xerxes invaded Greece, and four hundred and forty-four years before the Chriſtian æra.

The name of his father was Lyxes, of his mother Dryo: and we are told alſo, that his family was illuſtrious. At this time Lygdamis was prince of Halicarnaſſus, and, as it ſhould ſeem, univerſally deteſted for his inſolence and tyranny. It is certain that when he grew up, Herodotus left his native place and removed to Samos: Suidas ſays, on account of Lygdamis; but it does not appear whether he was violently expelled by his arbitrary maſter, or whether, in abhorrence of the tyrant, he voluntarily withdrew himſelf. At Samos he ſtudied the Ionic dialect; but as this ſubject may be leſs intelligible to the Engliſh reader, I ſhall digreſs a little upon it. By birth Herodotus was a Dorian, and the dialect of his country was, comparatively ſpeaking, ſo rude and diſſonant, that, even in later times, we hear the

other Greeks reflecting on thoſe who uſed it, for their broad and inharmonious pronunciation.

° See Theocritus, Id. xv. ver. 88.

Τρυγονες εκκναισευνται πλατυασδοισαι απαντα.

Which means, They make a noiſe like pigeons, pronouncing every thing with a broad dialect. To which remark, as a kind of vindication, it is replied, in the verſe which follows:

Δωρισδεν δ' εξεστι δοκω τοις Δωριεεσσι.

Which is, Surely Dorians may ſpeak Doric.

Heſychius alſo, at the word βαρβαροφωνοι, tells us that the inhabitants of Elis, as well as the Carians, were ſo named on account of their harſh and indiſtinct pronunciation.

Herodotus himſelf, book i. chapter 56, informs us, that the Greek language, properly ſo called, is divided into two dialects, the Doric and the Ionic; the firſt, the language of the Pelaſgi, the laſt, of the Hellenes. Strabo alſo, in his eighth book, obſerves, that

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the Ionic was the language of Attica, and the Doric of Æolia. The Æolic and the Doric did not materially vary from each other, and the Attic was the Ionic more refined. Herodotus therefore having learned the Ionic dialect, as more pleafing than his native Doric, compofed his hiftory in it. To collect materials, he travelled through Greece, Ægypt, Afia, Colchis, Scythia, Thrace, and Macedonia, &c.; and it is fufficiently evident that he perfonally vifited moft of the places he defcribes.

Of the ardour with which he was infpired in the caufe of liberty, we have ftrong and unequivocal teftimony. Firft, in his exile from his country, whether voluntarily or not; in various animated expreffions to this effect, fcattered through his books; but beft of all in his fubfequent conduct. Underftanding that a party was formed againft Lygdamis, he left Samos, and joined the friends of freedom. By their common exertions, the tyrant was expelled, and the public liberty reftored. But, as not unfrequently happens on fimilar occafions, contentions arofe, factions were formed,

and Herodotus was a ſecond time compelled to leave his country. He now viſited Greece again, which became the noble theatre of his glory. It was then the time of celebrating the Olympic games, and he did not omit the favourable opportunity of reciting his hiſtory to ſo illuſtrious an audience. Probably it was only the introductory parts, or certain particular and ſelected portions; but there muſt have been ſomething very captivating in his ſtyle, ſome regular and connected ſeries of intereſting hiſtory, ſome ſuperior and ſtriking character of genius: for we are informed that he was liſtened to with univerſal delight and applauſe; and we are farther gratified with the curious anecdote of Thucydides, which has ſo often been related. He was preſent at this great ſolemnity, with his father Olorus, and on hearing the compoſition of Herodotus, diſcovered the ſeeds of thoſe exalted talents which afterwards made his name immortal. After liſtening to the father of hiſtory with the moſt compoſed and ſerious attention, he burſt into tears. He was then no more than fifteen years old; and Herodotus, obſerving his emo-

 tion,

tion, exclaimed to Olorus, οργα η φυσις τε υιε σε προς τα μαθηματα—Your ſon burns with an ardour for ſcience. This is ſaid to have happened in the eighty-firſt Olympiad. Twelve years afterwards, the Hiſtorian read a continuation or ſecond portion of his work to the Athenians, at the feaſt of the Panathenæa. The people of Athens, not ſatisfied with heaping praiſes upon him, preſented him with ten talents, which gift was ſolemnly ratified by a decree of the people.

The next incident of our author's life of which we have to ſpeak, may at firſt ſight appear inconſiſtent and extraordinary. Honoured as all illuſtrious ſtrangers were at Athens, and favourable as the opportunity muſt here have been to have proſecuted his ſtudies, and to have indulged his ardour for ſcience, he might reaſonably have been expected to have fixed his reſidence at Athens; but this we find was not the caſe. In the beginning of the following Olympiad, he joined himſelf to a colony ſent by the Athenians to form a ſettlement in Magna Græcia. Whether he was prompted on this occaſion

by

by that fondneſs for travelling, which always diſtinguiſhed him, or whether he was induced to take this ſtep from motives of private connection and attachment, is totally unknown. It is certain that Lyſias, who afterwards became ſo famous as an orator, was one of thoſe who accompanied him. At Thurium *, which was the place then colonized, it is more than probable that he ſpent the remainder of his days, though there are ſome who aſſert that he died at Pella in Macedonia. Pella however gave no name to Herodotus, but became afterwards famous for being long the reſidence of Euripides, who from this circumſtance has frequently been called the Bard of Pella: an appellation which our poet Collins happily introduces in his beautiful Ode to Pity:

By Pella's bard, a magic name,
By all the griefs his thought could frame,
Receive my humble rite;
Long, Pity, let the nations view
Thy ſky-worn robes of tendereſt hue,
And eyes of dewy light.

* Written alſo Thurii and Thuriæ; and founded almoſt upon the ſpot where formerly had ſtood Sybaris, ſo infamous for effeminate manners.

Herodotus, in like manner, from his long continuance at Thurium, obtained the epithet of the Thurian. This appellation is no where to be found more early than in the works of Ariſtotle. Avienus, Julian, Pliny, and others, call him the Thurian; while Strabo, of greater antiquity than any of theſe, Ariſtotle excepted, in his fourteenth book, expreſsly calls him the Halicarnaſſian, adding however, that he was afterwards named the Thurian, becauſe he removed with a colony to that place.

Pliny has an expreſſion relating to Herodotus, which many have miſ-interpreted. "Auctor," ſays he, "ille Herodotus hiſtoriam *condidit*, Thuriis in Italiâ;" which has been underſtood as aſſerting that he *wrote* his hiſtory at Thurium. But this is impoſſible in fact, becauſe I have ſhewn, that many years before he went to Thurium at all, he had publicly recited his work, or certain portions of it, on two very memorable occaſions; at the Olympic games, and at Athens. It is therefore more reaſonable and conſiſtent to underſtand by this expreſſion of Pliny, that he reviſed, corrected, and perhaps enlarged

his

his hiſtory at Thurium. Suidas poſitively declares, that Herodotus died at Thurium; and though he mentions, as I have before intimated, that ſome affirmed him to have died at Pella, he produces no authority, which he would probably have done, if there had been any that deſerved much notice. This aſſertion therefore appears not to claim any great degree of confidence; But an argument againſt his having died at Thurium reſts on a paſſage which occurs in the life of Thucydides, by Marcellinus, who affirms, that the tomb of Herodotus was to be ſeen at Athens, amongſt the monuments of Cimon. The preſident Bouhier has from this concluded and aſſerted that he died at Athens. Of this the queſtion of M. Larcher, as he has applied it from Dodwell, ſeems a ſufficient and ſatisfactory refutation. How can it be proved, ſays the learned Frenchman, that this was not a cenotaph, one of thoſe marks of honour frequently paid to illuſtrious characters, without regarding the place where they might happen to die? Stephen of Byzantium gives an inſcription, ſaid to have been found at Thurium,

um, which aſſerts unequivocally, "This "earth contains in its boſom Herodotus ſon "of Lyxes, a Dorian by birth, but the moſt "illuſtrious of the Ionian hiſtorians."

Of the works of Herodotus we have remaining theſe nine books, to which the names of the Nine Muſes have been reſpectively annexed; upon which ſubject I have ſpoken ſomewhat at large, in a note at the beginning of the third book. Whether he ever wrote any thing elſe, has been a matter of much controverſy among ſcholars. Certain alluſions and expreſſions, to be found in the Nine Muſes, ſeem at firſt ſight to juſtify the opinion, that we do not poſſeſs all his works. But this muſt ever remain a matter of extreme uncertainty; yet it becomes me to add, that there are no references pointed out by the learned to any other of his works, in any ancient author. Ariſtotle, in his Hiſtory of Animals, book viii. chap. 18, cenſures Herodotus for ſaying, that at the ſiege of Ninos an eagle was ſeen to drink, when it is notorious that all birds γαμψωνυχες, having crooked claws, never do drink. Now it is certain,

certain, that no ſuch expreſſion occurs in what we have remaining of Herodotus. "Proba- "bly," ſays Fabricius, in reply to this, "Ariſ- "totle might have a more perfect copy of "the Nine Muſes, than has come down to "us."

The ſtyle of Herodotus might well demand a ſeparate diſſertation: this, perhaps, is not the propereſt place to ſpeak at any length upon the ſubject. It has been univerſally admired for being, beyond that of all other Greek writers of Proſe, pure and perſpicuous. Cicero calls it *fuſum atque tractum*, at the ſame time copious and poliſhed. Ariſtotle gives it as an example of the λεξις ειρομενη, which is literally, *the connected ſtyle*, but as he explains it means rather what we ſhould call *the flowing* ſtyle; wherein the ſentences are not involved or complicated by art, but are connected by ſimple conjunctions, as they follow in natural order, and have no full termination but in the cloſe of the ſenſe. This he oppoſes, to that ſtyle which is formed into regular periods, and rather cenſures it as keeping the reader in uneaſy ſuſpence, and

depriving him of the pleaſure which ariſes from foreſeeing the concluſion. The former, he ſays, was the method of the ancients; the latter of his contemporaries. (Rhet. iii. 9.) His own writings afford an example of the latter ſtyle, cut into ſhort and frequent periods, but certainly much leſs pleaſing than the flowing and natural ſmoothneſs of Herodotus. Plutarch, who wrote a treatiſe expreſsly to derogate from the fame and authority of Herodotus, in more places than one ſpeaks of his diction with the higheſt commendation. Longinus alſo, as may be ſeen in various paſſages which I have introduced, and commented upon in the progreſs of my work, added his tribute to the univerſal praiſe.

Every one knows, who has made the experiment, how difficult and almoſt impoſſible it is to aſſimilate to the Engliſh idiom, the ſimple and beautiful terſeneſs of Greek compoſition. If any ſcholar therefore, who may chuſe to compare my verſion with the original Greek, ſhall be inclined to cenſure me for being occaſionally diffuſe, I would

wiſh

wish him to remember this.—I would desire him also to consider, that it was my duty to make that perspicuous to the less learned reader, which might have been conveyed in fewer terms to the apprehensions of the more learned or the more intelligent.

On the subject of translations in general, I entirely approve of the opinion of Boileau. In a preceding publication, I have before referred to this, but I see no impropriety in its having a place here, in the words of lord Bolingbroke.

" To translate servilely into modern language an ancient author, phrase by phrase, and word by word, is preposterous: nothing can be more unlike the original than such a copy; it is not to shew, it is to disguise the author. A good writer will rather imitate than translate, and rather emulate than imitate: he will endeavour to write as the ancient author would have written, had he wrote in the same language."—*Letters on History*.

Perhaps

Perhaps I ought not to omit, that many eminent writers, both of ancient and modern times, accuſe Herodotus of not having had a ſufficient regard to the auſtere and ſacred dignity of hiſtoric truth. Cteſias, in Photius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Aulus Gellius, and, above all, Plutarch, have made ſtrong and violent objections to many of his aſſertions. To many general cenſures which in this reſpect have been aimed againſt the fame of our hiſtorian, I have made reply in various parts of my notes; and the plauſible but unjuſt tract of Plutarch, on the Malignity of Herodotus, has been carefully examined, and ſatisfactorily refuted, by the Abbé Geinoz, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.

It is my intention, if what I here offer the public be deemed worthy of encouragement, to tranſlate this tract of Plutarch, and with it the learned Abbé's three Diſſertations. As theſe laſt are alike remarkable for their learning, their acuteneſs, and their efficient anſwer to all that Plutarch has alledged, the whole will,

will, I think, make a very neceſſary and uſeful ſupplement to my preſent work.

I have little to ſay concerning the life of Homer, imputed by ſome to Herodotus, and in more modern editions publiſhed with his works. It ſeems generally determined among ſcholars, that though undoubtedly of great antiquity, it muſt have been written by ſome other hand. Voſſius, Faber, Rykius, Spanhemius, Berglerus, Weſſeling, and others, are decidedly againſt its authenticity; which has nevertheleſs been vindicated by Fabricius, by our countryman Joſhua Barnes, and laſtly by the Preſident Bouhier. It muſt ſtrike the moſt careleſs and indifferent obſerver, that the ſtyle of the Life of Homer, whoever was the author, does not bear the ſmalleſt reſemblance to that of the Nine Muſes. "In the Life of Homer," ſays Weſſeling, "that unvaried ſuavity of the "Ionic dialect, ſo remarkable in the Muſes, "never occurs at all." The great and the moſt ſatisfactory argument againſt its being genuine ſeems to be this:—Of all the ancient writers, who have taken upon them to diſ-

cuſs

cuſs the birth, the fortunes, or the poems of Homer, not one has ever, by the remoteſt alluſion, referred to this work, which bears the name of Herodotus.

And here my account of the hiſtorian muſt conclude; but when I conſider the great admiration which for ſucceſſive ages he has deſervedly obtained, when I reflect on the inſtruction which he communicates in the moſt pure and delightful ſtyle, I cannot but regret, that the ſources of information concerning him are not more clear as well as more copious. I would not trifle with my reader, by leading him through the mazes of a labyrinth, where a few intervals of light and beauty would but ill compenſate for the tediouſneſs and uncertainty of his way; I have rather choſen to place before him a plain uninterrupted path, from which he may diſcern at one view the cleareſt proſpect I could preſent to him, as well as the materials of which it is compoſed.

I N D E X.

N. B. The numerical letters direct to the volume, the figures to the page, and the letter 'n' to the notes.

A.

ABANTES, why they cut off their hair before i. 150, n.
Abaris, story of — — — ii. 212
Abdera, many singularities related of — i. 168, n.
— stigmatized by Juvenal — — iii. 224, n.
Abderites, Xerxes makes a treaty of friendship with iii. 436.
Abrocomus and Hyperanthes, brothers of Xerxes, fall in contending for the body of Leonidas — iii. 321
Abyssinia, lapidation a punishment in — iv. 4, n.
Abyssinians, said to eat raw flesh from the living ox ii. 118, n.
Acanthians presented by Xerxes with a Median vest iii. 228
Acephali have their eyes in their breasts — ii. 347
Aces, the river, its passage prevented by the Persians ii. 137
Achæmenes, son of Darius — — ii. 13
— is entrusted by Xerxes with the government of Ægypt — — — — iii. 142
— his advice relative to the Grecian war is pursued by Xerxes — — — iii. 334
— treats the body of Leonidas with barbarity — iii. 335
— is slain by Inarus — — iii. 143
Achelous, a river in Ægypt — — i. 225

Acheron — — — iii. 370, n.
Adimantus, the Athenian, had an honourable epitaph inſcribed on his tomb — — iii. 340, n.
Adimantus, the Corinthian, is prevented by Themiſtocles from flying before the Perſians — — iii. 340
— is reproved by Themiſtocles — — iii. 380
— ſaid to have fled at the commencement of the battle of Salamis — — — iii. 412
Adonis, his rites in Phrygia repreſented the acceſs and receſs of the ſun — — — iv. 9, n.
Adoption always performed by the Spartans in preſence of the king — — — iii. 53
— more frequent amongſt the Romans than amongſt the Greeks — — — iii. 53, n.
Adraſtus, ſon of Gordius, having unwillingly killed his brother, receives expiation from Crœſus — i. 37
— is entruſted by Crœſus with the care of his ſon Atys in the hunting of a wild boar — — i. 42
— miſſing his aim at the boar kills Atys — i. 43
— kills himſelf on the tomb of Atys — — i. 44
Adraſtus, the ſon of Talaus, ſacrifices and feſtivals appropriated to him by the Sicyonians, aſſigned by Cliſthenes to Melanippus — — — ii. 436
Adyrmachidæ, a people of Africa, their cuſtoms, ii. 327. 362
Æaces, ſon of Syloſon, prevails on all the Samian leaders except eleven, to withdraw their aſſiſtance from the Ionians — — — iii. 11
— the Phœnicians ordered by the Perſians to replace him in Samos, as a reward of his ſervices — iii. 25
Æacidæ — — — ii. 449. iii. 384
Æacus, an edifice erected by the Athenians ſacred to him, — — — — ii. 457
— his aid intreated by the Greeks — iii. 384
Ægaleos, mount, Xerxes viewed the battle at Salamis from — — — — iii. 410
Ægeus, ſon of Pandion — — — i. 173
Ægidæ, whence their name — — — ii. 310
— build a ſhrine to the Furies — — ii. 310

Æginetæ, their refentment to the Samians — ii. 69
— affift the Thebans againft the Athenians — ii. 449
— occafion of their enmity with the Athenians ii. 450
— by their compliance with the demands of Darius, give great offence to the Athenians — — iii. 44
— are accufed by the Athenians at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece — — iii. 45
— oppofe and repulfe Cleomenes, who endeavoured to feize the perfons of the accufed — — iii. 45
— fend hoftages to Cleomenes — — iii. 69
— commit an act of violence on the Athenians at Sunium, — — — — iii. 86
— are betrayed to the Athenians by Nicodromus — iii. 87.
— for their impiety againft the temple of Ceres Thefmophoros are driven from Ægina — iii. 89
— are defeated by the Athenians, and denied affiftance by the Argives — — — iii. 89
— obtain a victory over the Athenian fleet — iii. 90
— fupply the Greeks with thirty veffels — iii. 369
— are Dorians — — — iii. 369
— diftinguifh themfelves in the battle at Salamis — iii. 412
— their offering at Delphi — — iii. 437
— become exceedingly rich by their purchafes of the fpoil after the battle of Platæa — — iv. 72
Ægis, derivation of the word — — ii. 346
Ægium, anfwer of the oracle to the people of — i. 150, n.
Ægypt defcribed — — — i. 219
— has large additions of land from the mud of the Nile, i. 219; this denied — — iv. 122
— its extent — — — i. 221
— its foil — — — — i. 222, n.
— its pyramids. See *Pyramids*.
— an acrid matter exudes from its foil, which injures the pyramids — — — i. 228
— blindnefs caufed by the nitrous quality of its atmofphere, — — — — i. 228, n.
— never fertilized by rain — — i. 230
— fertility of the country below Memphis — i. 231

Ægypt, formerly called Thebes — i. 233
— conſtitutes the natural and proper limits of Aſia and Africa — — — — — i. 234
— claims admiration beyond all other countries — i. 254
— viſited by ſeveral eminent Greeks — i. 275, n.
— its modern annual fairs — i. 283, n. 284, n.
— great number of its domeſtic animals — i. 290
— increaſe of cats, how fruſtrated there — i. 291
— the crocodile — — — i. 294
— hippopotamus — — — i. 299
— phœnix — — — i. 300
— ſerpents — — — i. 302
— ibis — — — — i. 303
— healthineſs of its climate — — i. 305
— has no vines, i. 306; this contradicted — i. 306, n.
— the lotos — — — i. 324
— byblus — — — i. 325
— fiſh, their mode of propagation — i. 325
— kings of Ægypt — — i. 330, 331
— its canals — — — i. 339
— its kings had many names and titles — i. 359, n.
— no ruins of bricks burnt in the fire, ſuch as the Iſraelites made — — — i. 382, n.
— its cities, by what means elevated in the reign of Sabacus — — — — i. 383
— temple of Bubaſtis — — i. 383
— its kings muſt not be ignorant of ſacred affairs i. 386, n.
— in former times governed by immortal beings — i. 392
— its twelve kings — — — i. 396
— labyrinth near Mœris — — i. 397
— lake Mœris — — — i. 400
— canal leading to the Red Sea — — i. 411
— is divided into provinces — — i. 417
— in the reign of Amaſis, contained 20,000 cities well inhabited — — — i. 429
— three millions of inhabitants, according to Diodorus Siculus — — — i. 429, n.

I N D E X.

Ægypt, number of its inhabitants at preſent — i. 429, n.
— Neucratis formerly its ſole emporium — i. 430.
— its utter deſtruction threatened by Cambyſes, when only ten years of age — — ii. 5
— rain at the Ægyptian Thebes a prodigy — ii. 11
— its tribute to Darius — — ii. 111
— infeſted by flying ſerpents — — ii. 128
— more effectually reduced by Xerxes than it had been by Darius; and the government of it entruſted to Achæmenes — — — iii. 142
Ægyptians, ancient, had no ſtatues in their temples i. 134, n.
— eſteemed the Phrygians more ancient than themſelves, and themſelves than the reſt of mankind — 216
— firſt defined the meaſure of the year — i. 218
— invented the names of the twelve gods — i. 218
— firſt erected altars, ſhrines, and temples, and engraved the figures of animals on ſtone — — i. 219
— moſt ancient of the human race — — i. 233
— their ſingular inſtitutions and manners — i. 254
— occupations of the men and women — i. 254
— their men have the management of the loom i. 254. iv. — — — — 126
— manner of wearing their hair — — i. 256
— animals live promiſcuouſly with them — i. 257
— their corn — — — i. 257
— circumciſe their males — — i. 258
— the men have two veſts, the women only one — i. 258
— write from left to right — — i. 259
— have two ſorts of letters — — i. 259
— their ſuperſtitions — — — i. 259
— their linen — — — i. 260, n.
— their prieſts — — — i. 260
— will not eat beans — — i. 262
— eſteem bulls ſacred to Epaphus — i. 262
— their mode of ſacrifice — — — i. 263
— imprecate the heads of beaſts — — i. 263
— will not eat of the head of any beaſt — i. 264
— worſhip Iſis — — — i. 265

O 3 *Ægyptians*

I N D E X.

Ægyptians venerate cows beyond all other cattle — i. 265
— their averſion to the Greeks — — i. 265
— would not eat with ſtrangers — — i. 265, n.
— put no cattle to death — — i. 266.
— their god Oſiris the Grecian Bacchus — i. 266
— why their ſtatues of Jupiter repreſent him with a ram's head — — — i. 267
— worſhip Hercules — — — i. 268
— animals ſacrificed by them — — i. 271
— the Mendeſians refuſe to ſacrifice goats out of reverence to Pan — — — i. 271
— regard the hog as unclean — — i. 272
— ſacrifice ſwine to Bacchus and Luna — i. 273
— communicated to Greece the names of almoſt all the gods, — — — — i. 276
— names of gods not familiar in Ægypt — i. 276
— their public feſtivals — — i. 283
— have no feſtivals without illuminations — i. 286, n.
— do not connect themſelves with women in their temples — — — — i. 288
— regard all beaſts as ſacred — — i. 289
— are compelled by their laws to cheriſh them — i. 289
— great number of their domeſtic animals — i. 290
— venerate cats — — — i. 290, n.
— lament the deaths of cats and dogs — i. 292
— bury their animals — — — i. 293
— ſome eſteem the crocodile ſacred, others treat it as an enemy — — — i. 297
— the Ægyptians of Papremis eſteem the hippopotamus ſacred — — — i. 299
— venerate otters, the fiſh lepitodus and the eel, and the birds chenalopex, and the phœnix — i. 300
— worſhip ſerpents — — i. 302
— often repreſented the gods with the body and tail of a ſerpent — — i. 302, n.
— hold the ibis in great reverence — — i. 303
— pay great attention to the improvement of their memory and to their health — — i. 304

Ægyptians,

Ægyptians, their bread — — i. 306
— drink a liquor fermented from barley — i. 307
— live principally upon fifh — — i. 307. 325
— a cuftom at their entertainments — i. 308
— averfe to foreign manners — — i. 309
— an ancient fong among them — — i. 309
— their reverence to age — — i. 310
— their drefs — — — i. 311
— firft imagined what month or day was to be confecrated to each deity — — — i. 312
— caft nativities — — — i. 313
— their oracles — — — i. 313
— medicine — — — i. 314
— funerals — — — — i. 313
— modes of embalming — — — i. 316
— their great knowledge of chymiftry — i. 316, n.
— their rules concerning embalming — i. 319
— worfhipped the Nile — — i. 319, n.
— manners of thofe who inhabit the marfhy grounds not materially different from thofe in the higher parts i. 323
— confine themfelves to one wife — i. 323
— their ufe of the lotos — — i. 324
— their ufe of the byblus — — i. 325
— thofe in the lower parts make ufe of the oil kiki — i. 327
— their remedy againft gnats — — i. 327
— their veffels of burden — — i. 327
— the ancient Ægyptians, real negroes — i. 335, n.
— from time immemorial ufed circumcifion — i. 335
— not poffible to fay whether they or the Æthiopians firft introduced circumcifion — — i. 336
— their linen like that of the Colchians — i. 336
— detefted human facrifices — — i. 352, n.
— their chronology, by what means greatly embarraffed — — — — i. 359, n.
— their feftival on the return of Rhampfinitus from the infernal regions — — — i. 360
— the firft who defended the immortality of the foul i. 360
— many marks of refemblance between them and the Indians, — — — — i. 361, n.

Ægyptians believe the metempſychoſis — i. 361
— are forbidden to offer ſacrifices, and oppreſſed by Cheops — — — — i. 363
— the pyramids a proof of their ſlavery — i. 363, n.
— their oppreſſion under Cheops, and his brother Chephren, continued for 106 years — — i. 371
— are again permitted to offer ſacrifice by Mycerinus, the ſucceſſor of Chephren — — i. 372
— their kings muſt not be ignorant of ſacred affairs i. 386, n.
— were divided into three claſſes — i. 388, n.
— from their firſt king to their laſt, a period of 341 generations — — — i. 389
— every high prieſt places a wooden figure of himſelf in a temple — — — i. 391
— held two principles, one good, the other evil — i. 393, n.
— eſteem Pan the moſt ancient of the gods — i. 394
— profeſs always to have computed the years, and kept written accounts of them — — i. 395
— on the death of Sethos, chuſe twelve kings, i. 395; who baniſh Pſammitichus, one of their number, i. 405; but are at length expelled by him — i. 406
— term all barbarians who ſpeak a language different from their own — — — i. 412
— are divided into ſeven claſſes — — i. 417
— the ſons of certain artiſts obliged to follow the profeſſion of their father — — — i. 419, n.
— their ſoldiers and prieſts, the only ranks honourably diſtinguiſhed — — — i. 420
— in the reign of Amaſis, had 20,000 cities well inhabited, — — — — i. 429
— three millions of inhabitants in the time of Diodorus Siculus — — — i. 429, n.
— their number at preſent — — i. 429, n.
— every one obliged, once in the year, to explain to the chief magiſtrate the means of his ſubſiſtence — i. 429
— contributed largely to the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi — — — i. 431
— defeated by the Perſians under Cambyſes — ii. 12

Ægyptians

Ægyptians ſhave their heads from a very early age ii. 13
— after their defeat by Cambyſes, fly to Memphis — ii. 13
— deſtroy the crew of a Mitylenian ſhip at Memphis ii. 14
— are beſieged by Cambyſes at Memphis, and ſurrender, — — — — ii. 14
— why they never burn their dead — ii. 19
— reduced by Cambyſes, revolt from the Perſians, iii. 135
— with the Phœnicians, have the care of tranſporting proviſions for the army of Xerxes, in his expedition to Greece — — — iii. 164
— ſupply Xerxes with 200 veſſels — iii. 209
— expert and graceful in ſwimming — iii. 409, n.
Æolians ſubdued by Crœſus — — i. 9
— their offer of allegiance rejected by Cyrus — i. 145
— their cities — — — i. 153
— ſend ambaſſadors to Sparta to requeſt aſſiſtance from the Lacedæmonians againſt Cyrus, i. 155; who refuſe it, and yet threaten Cyrus for any injury to the Grecian cities — — — i. 156
— Datis the Mede takes them with his army againſt Eretria — — — — iii. 93
— aſſiſt Xerxes with ſixty ſhips — — iii. 211
— called Pelaſgi at the ſiege of Troy — iv. 113
Æſchylus — — — i. 410
Æſop, his converſation with Solon at Sardis — i. 35, n.
— the fables under his name not his — i. 378, n.
— little concerning him can be aſcertained as fact i. 378, n.
— not deformed — — i. 378, n.
— called Theta — — — ii. 460, n.
Æthiopia, rain and ice unknown in — — i. 240
— this contradicted — — i. 240, n.
— its produce — — — ii. 134
Æthiopians — — — i. 247
— eighteen of them kings of Ægypt — — i. 332
— from time immemorial uſed circumciſion — i. 335
— not poſſible to ſay whether they or the Ægyptians firſt introduced circumciſion — — i. 336
— ſubdued by Cambyſes — — ii. 115
— their cuſtoms — — — ii. 115

Æthiopians

Æthiopians aſſiſt Xerxes in his expedition to Greece iii. 199
— difference between the eaſtern and weſtern — iii. 199
Æthiopians, Macrobian — ii. 23
— term of their lives — — — ii. 27
— their food — — — ii. 27
— Cambyſes marches againſt them with a part of his army, and loſes a conſiderable number of men — ii. 31
Ætolians, a ſhocking character of them — iii. 396, n.
Africa firſt diſcovered by Necho, king of Ægypt, to be ſurrounded by the ſea — — ii. 216
— Sataſpes deſiſts from ſailing round it — ii. 218
— barren of wood — — — ii. 334
— various nations of — — ii. 327
— its animals — — — ii. 349
— in ſome parts it never rains — — ii. 343
— in goodneſs of ſoil not comparable to Aſia or Europe ii. 356
— its geography obſcure — — ii. 362
Africans, neareſt to Ægypt, ſubmit to Cambyſes — ii. 14
— prevent the Greeks from ſeeing Iraſa — ii. 319
— from Ægypt as far as lake Tritonis lead a paſtoral life, and live on fleſh and milk — — ii. 343
— to the weſt of the lake Tritonis not ſhepherds — ii. 344
— cuſtoms of the African ſhepherds with reſpect to their children — — — ii. 344
— more exempt from diſeaſe than other men — ii. 344
— their mode of ſacrifice — — ii. 345
— all adore the ſun and moon — — ii. 345
Agariſta, daughter of Cliſthenes, mode of her father's diſpoſing of her in marriage — — iii. 122
— given by her father to Megacles, ſon of Alcmæon iii. 127
Agariſta, daughter of Hippocrates — — iii. 128
Agaſicles, of Halicarnaſſus, violated the cuſtom of the temple of Triope — — — i. 149
Agathoërgoi — — — — i. 69
Agathyrſi — — — ii. 276. 291
Age, reverence paid to, by the Ægyptians and Lacedæmonians — — — — i. 310
Agetus, ſon of Alcides, his wife, from being remarkable for her uglineſs, becomes exceedingly beautiful — iii. 57

Agetus, ſon of Alcides, his wife is by artifice obtained by Ariſton, who by her has Demaratus — iii. 58
Agylla, men and cattle ſeized with convulſions on approaching a certain ſpot — — — i. 167
Ahaſuerus the ſubject of much etymological inveſtigation — — — — i. 182, n.
Ajax, ſon of Telamon — — ii. 434
— invoked by the Greeks at Salamis — iii. 384
— a veſſel conſecrated to him by the Greeks — iii. 436
Aimneſtus ſlays Mardonius in the battle of Platæa — iv. 50
Alabaſter, whence its name — — ii. 23, n.
Alcæus, the ſon of Hercules — — i. 10
Alcæus, the poet, fled from the field — — ii. 468
— ſome account of — — — ii. 468, n.
Alcmæon, ſon of Megacles, by the permiſſion of Crœſus takes with him from Sardis all the gold he can carry iii. 121
Alcmæonidæ, conſtruct the temple of Delphi — ii. 428
— bribe the Pythian to propoſe to every Spartan who conſulted her the deliverence of Athens ii. 429
— a ſhield ſaid to be held up by one of them as a ſignal to the Perſians on their retreat from Marathon, iii. 113; but this an incredible ſtory — iii. 120
— always amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of Athens — — — iii. 120
— the family raiſed by Cliſthenes — iii. 121
Aleuadæ ſend meſſengers from Theſſaly, imploring Xerxes to invade Greece — — iii. 141
— the firſt Greeks who ſubmitted to Xerxes — iii. 238
Alexander, ſon of Priam, reſolves to obtain a wife from Greece — — — — i. 5
Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, by ſtratagem procures the death of ſeven Perſians ſent by Megabyzus to demand earth and water — — — ii. 385
— gives his ſiſter in marriage to Bubaris, and thus prevents an enquiry into the aſſaſſination of the ſeven Perſians — — — — ii. 386
— diſſuades the Greeks from proceeding towards Theſſaly to defend the Olympic ſtraits againſt Xerxes iii. 282
— a golden ſtatue of him at Delphi — iii. 437

Alexander, son of Amyntas, is sent ambassador by Mardonius to procure an alliance with the Athenians — iii. 446
— his descent from Perdiccas — — iii. 450
— his speech at Athens — — — iii. 450
— betrays Mardonius to the Greeks — iv. 40
Alexander the Great, his order to his troops to cut off their hair — — — i. 150, n.
— story of his birth similar to that of the birth of Demaratus — — — iii. 64, n.
— by an act of violence on the Pythian, obtained the answer he wished for — — iii. 78, n.
Algerines, their ceremony in marriage — ii. 332, n.
Allegory, partiality of the ancients to — ii. 295, n.
Alliances ratified by ancient and modern nations by drinking their own blood — — i. 79, n.
— how made by the Arabians — — ii. 9.
— by the Scythians — — — ii. 243
Altar of the twelve deities at Athens — i. 222. iii. 107
— at Delphi, presented by the Chians — i. 380
— of Hercules — — — iii. 284
— of Jupiter Forensis — — ii. 409
— of Orthosian Diana — — — ii. 262
— of the winds — — — iii. 285
Altars, none among the Persians — — i. 134
— first erected by the Ægyptians — — i. 219
Alyattes, king of Sardis — — i. 20
— resumes his father's war against the Milesians, i. 20; and puts an end to it — — i. 23
— erects two temples to Minerva — i. 23
— his death — — — i. 26
— his sepulchre described — — i. 101
— story of him and a Thracian woman — ii. 377, n.
Amasis rebels against Apries king of Ægypt i. 415
— takes Apries prisoner, and treats him with kindness, till the Ægyptians strangle him — i. 420
— succeeds to the throne of Ægypt — i. 424
— instance of his political sagacity — i. 424
— his regulation of his time — — i. 425
— erects a magnificent portico in honour of Minerva i. 426

Amasis brings an edifice from Elephantine constructed of one entire stone — — — i. 427
— colossal statues placed by him — i. 428
— built the temple of Isis, at Memphis — i. 428
— partial to the Greeks — — i. 430
— gives 1000 talents of alum towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi — — — i. 431
— makes an amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, i. 431
— marries Ladice — — i. 431
— is afflicted with imbecillity; but his vigour is restored i. 432
— his liberality to Greece — — i. 432
— sends his portrait to Cyrene — i. 432
— the first that conquered Cyprus — i. 434
— Cambyses leads an army against him — ii. 1
— dies before Cambyses advances to Ægypt — ii. 11
— succeeded by his son Psammenitus — ii. 11
— his dead body insulted by Cambyses — ii. 18
— his advice to Polycrates — — ii. 48
— his motives for withdrawing his alliance with him ii. 52
— foretold the death of Polycrates — ii. 147
— his conduct paralleled in English history — iv. 131, n.
Amasis, a Maraphian, entrusted by Aryandes with the conduct of an army against the Barceans — ii. 327
— his stratagem at the siege of Barce — ii. 358
Amathusia besieged by Onesilus — ii. 477
— a name of Cyprus — — ii. 477, n.
Amazons, by the Scythians called men-slayers — ii. 280
— subdued by the Greeks at Thermodon ii. 280. iv. 27
— plunder the Scythians — — ii. 281
— conciliated to the Scythians — — ii. 283
— their manners and customs — ii. 284
Ambassadors, their persons sacred, except at Constantinople, — — — — ii. 73, n.
Amber carried from Europe into Greece — ii. 136
— its name and uses — — ii. 136, n.
America, whence peopled — — ii. 237, n.
Amestris, wife of Xerxes, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive iii. 227
— discovers the intrigue of Xerxes with Artaynta — iv. 93

Amestris,

Ameſtris, wife of Xerxes, not the ſame with queen Eſther — — — iv. 93, n. 96, n.
— her cruelty to the wife of Maſiſtes — iv. 96
Amilcar, conquered by Gelon and Thelon, diſappeared, and was never ſeen afterwards — — iii. 273
— according to Polyænus deſtroyed by Gelon by ſtratagem, — — — — iii. 273, n.
— honoured by the Carthaginians as a divinity iii. 274
Aminias of Pallene — — iii. 412
Aminocles, ſon of Cratinus — — iii. 295
Ammon — — — ii. 365
Ammonians — — — ii. 338
— their fountain of water — — ii. 339
— derivation of their name — — ii. 364
Amompharetus, ſon of Poliadas — — iv. 48
— behaves well at the battle of Platæa — iv. 63
Amphiaraus, his oracle — — i. 46, and n.
— Crœſus ſends preſents to him — — i. 52
— no Theban allowed to ſleep in his temple — iii. 445
Amphictyons — — ii. 427, n. iii. 303, n.
Amphilochus, his oracle — — ii. 111, n.
Amphytrion, his preſent to the temple of the Iſmenian Apollo at Thebes — — — ii. 425
Amyntas gives the Perſians earth and water — ii. 382
Amyrtæus diſcovers the iſland Elbo — i. 386
Anacharſis, the Scythian, his ſuperior learning and accompliſhments — — — ii. 222
— viſits a large part of the habitable world, and returns to Scythia — — — ii. 249
— inſtitutes the rites in honour of Cybele which he had ſeen performed at Cyzicus — — ii. 250
— is killed by Saulius, the Scythian king — ii. 251
— his deſcent — — — ii. 251
Anacreon of Teos — — — ii. 142
— many doubt whether the works aſcribed to him are genuine — — — ii. 142, n.
Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, married two wives, and had two ſeparate dwellings, contrary to the uſage of his country — — — ii. 402
— his ſons by each of his wives — ii. 403

Anaxandrides, an apopthegm of his — ii. 403, n.
Anaxilaus, prince of Rhegium, perſuades the Samians to poſſeſs themſelves of Zancle — — iii. 23
Anchimolius, ſon of Aſter, conducts the Lacedæmonian army againſt the Piſiſtratidæ — — ii. 429
— is killed — — — ii. 430
Anchors, particulars reſpecting — iii. 10, n.
Ancients, their paintings — — i. 433, n.
— their engravings on precious ſtones — ii. 50, n.
— their works in miniature — ii. 50, n.
— their modes of counting — ii. 269, n.
— fond of an enigmatical way of ſpeaking and acting — — — — ii. 295, n.
— in their military expeditions made uſe of perſons of loud voices — — — ii. 303, n.
— their curious contrivances for conveying ſecret intelligence — — — ii. 398, n.
— their various uſes of the olive — ii. 414, n.
— their notions reſpecting dreams and viſions ii. 420, n.
— gave the letters of the alphabet as nicknames ii. 460, n.
— their cuſtoms reſpecting hoſpitality — iii. 18, n.
— their ſuperſtition in the belief of prodigies — iii. 27, n.
— frequently conſidered madneſs as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts — — iii. 72, n.
— generally deemed fire an auſpicious omen iii. 79, n.
— thought the ſafety of a nation might be ſecured, or the life of an individual be preſerved, by the voluntary death of one or more perſons — iii. 240, n.
— originally uſed only the four cardinal winds iii. 293, n.
— in more remote times ſat at table — iv. 14, n.
— their ſentiments on the bodies of the dead remaining unburied — — — iv. 26, n.
— their ſymbols of their deities — iv. 112
Andromeda — — — iii. 196
Androphagi — — — — ii. 277
Andros beſieged by the Greeks — iii. 430
Androſphynges — — — i. 426
Aneriſtus, ſon of Sperthies, put to death by the Athenians, — — — — iii. 244

Angila abounds in dates — — ii. 365
— ſtill retains its ancient name — ii. 365
Animals, their figures firſt engraved on ſtone by the Ægyptians — — — i. 219
— live promiſcuouſly with the Ægyptians — i. 257
— their heads imprecated by the Ægyptians in ſacrifice, — — — — ii. 263
— their heads never eaten by the Ægyptians — ii. 264
— none ſacrificed by the Ægyptians except ſwine, bulls, male calves without blemiſh, and geeſe — i. 271
— held ſacred and cheriſhed by the laws of Ægypt i. 289
— great number of domeſtic animals there — i. 290
— buried by the Ægyptians — — i. 293
— none put to death by the Aritonian Indians ii. 119, and n.
— fierce and venomous, leſs prolific than others ii. 129
— diſproportion between the hind and fore legs in various, — — — — iv. 150
Anointing the body practiſed by the Scythians — ii. 248
— neceſſity of it in hot climates — ii. 249, n.
Antayctes, governor of Seſtos, crucified alive — iii. 170
Antigone, her piety towards her brother's corpſe ii, 140, n.
Ants, in India, bigger than a fox, and caſt up ſand mixed with gold duſt — — ii. 120
Anubis, why repreſented with a dog's head i. 293, n.
— had the name of Mercury among the Ægyptians i. 384, n.
Anyſis, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds Aſychis — i. 382
— flies before the army of Sabacus, who obtains his authority — — — — i. 383
— reſumes his government — — i. 386
— is ſucceeded by Sethos — — i. 386
Apaturian feſtival — — — i. 152
Apis, edifice built for, by Pſammitichus — i. 407
— Ægyptians rejoice on his appearance — ii. 33
— particulars concerning — — ii. 34, n.
— cleared the Peloponneſe of ſerpents, whence called Serapis — — iii. 396, n. iv. 11, n.
Apollo, his ſtatue at mount Thornax — — i. 72
— preſerved by Latona — — i. 410

Apollo, the crow ſacred to — — ii. 195, n.
— his fountain in Africa — — ii. 319
— Carnian feſtival in honour of — iii. 317, n.
Apollo, of Delphi, his oracle without appeal — i. 45, n.
— his oracle reproached by Crœſus — i. 96
Apollo, Didymean, his magnificent temple — i. 47, n.
— why ſo called — — — iii. 16, n.
Apollo, Iſmenian — — — i. 99
— inſcriptions on tripods in his temple at Thebes ii. 425
Apollo Orus — — — i. 393. 410
— his oracle in Ægypt — — i. 313
Apollo Pæan — — — ii. 368, n.
Apple carved by the Babylonians on the tops of their walking-ſticks — — — i. 197
Apries, king of Ægypt, attacks Cyrene, where his army is routed — — — ii. 320
— ſucceeds his father — — i. 414
— in ſcripture called Pharaoh Hophra — i. 414, n.
— his ill ſucceſs — — — i. 415
— taken priſoner by Amaſis — — i. 420
— ſtrangled by the Ægyptians — — i. 421
— paſſages of ſcripture alluding to him — i. 421, n.
Apſinthians, ſacrifice Œobazus to their god Pleiſtorus, iv. 100
Arabia, its products — — ii. 127
— infeſted by flying ſerpents — — ii. 128
Arabians, ceremonies uſed by them in making alliances, ii. 9
— Bacchus and Urania the only deities they venerate, ii. 10
— their independence always a theme of praiſe and admiration — — — ii. 107, n.
Araxes, river, cuſtoms of the iſlanders in — i. 203
— its violence — — — iv. 119
Arcadia, particulars reſpecting — iii. 395, n.
Arcadians oppoſed the claim of the Athenians to antiquity — — — — iii. 269, n.
— conjecture of their original name — iii. 269, n.
Arceſilaus, king of of the Cyreneans, ſtrangled by his brother Aliarchus — — — ii. 321

Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, and king of the Cyreneans, flies to Samos — — — ii. 322
— returns to Cyrene, and recovers his authority — ii. 324
— is put to death at Barce, having violated the injunctions of the oracle — — — ii. 325
Archetimus, story of him and Cydias — iii. 85, n.
Archias, his valour — — ii. 64
Archidice, a Grecian courtesan — — i. 381
— story of her — — — i. 381, n.
Archilochus, of Paros — — i. 17
Archimedes, whence he derived the idea of his screw i. 339, n.
Ardys, son of Gyges, conquers the Prienians, and attacks Miletus — — — i. 20
Areopagus, the court of the — iii. 374, n.
Arganthonius, king of the Tartessians, lived to the age of one hundred and twenty — — i. 164
Argippæi, account of — — ii. 199
Argis, an Hyperborean virgin, honoured by the Delians — — — — ii. 211
Argives, battle between them and the Lacedæmonians for Thyrea — — — i. 85
— the most skilful musicians of Greece — ii. 154
— advance to the sea to repel Cleomenes — iii. 75
— their women taking arms repel Cleomenes with the loss of numbers — — — iii. 75, n.
— are attacked by stratagem, and those who escape take refuge in the grove of Argos; but fifty of them are enticed out by Cleomenes, and put to death, iii. 76; the rest not appearing when called, Cleomenes burns the wood — — — iii. 77
— the slaves, usurping the management of affairs, are expelled, and retire to Tyrinthes, but are at last subdued — — — iii. 79
— refuse assistance to the Athenians against Ægina, iii. 89
— evade giving assistance to the Greeks against Xerxes — — — — iii. 254
— Xerxes claims kindred with them — iii. 256

Argives ſaid to have firſt invited the Perſian to invade Greece, — — — — iii. 259
— invite Melampus to cure a madneſs amongſt their women — — — iv 33
Argonautic expedition — — — ii. 335
Argonauts, their poſterity, expelled from Lemnos, ſettle among the Lacedæmonians — — ii. 307
— are caſt into priſon for their intemperance, but eſcape by an artifice of their wives — — ii. 308
Argos formerly the moſt famous ſtate of Greece — i. 3
— whence its name — — iii. 73, n. 397, n.
— Cleomenes ſets fire to the ſacred wood of — iii. 77
Ariabignes, ſon of Darius — — iii. 212. 408
Arimaſpi, a people of Europe ſaid to have but one eye, — — — — ii. 136. 192
Arion, the Methymnæan, carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin — — — i. 24
— excelled on the harp — — i. 24
Ariſtagoras, governor of Miletus — ii. 392
— prevails on Artaphernes to procure forces from Darius againſt Naxos — — ii. 395
— revolts againſt Darius — — ii. 400
— eſtabliſhes a republican form of government in Ionia, — — — — ii. 401
— fails to Lacedæmon to procure allies — ii. 401
— attempts to induce Cleomenes, king of Sparta, to undertake the conqueſt of Aſia, ii. 410; but is diſmiſſed without ſucceſs — — — ii. 416
— goes to Athens, which had recovered its liberty, ii. 419
— recommends to the Athenians a war with Perſia, ii. 471
— procures the return of the Pæonians, taken captive by Megabyzus, to their native country — ii. 473
— joined by the Athenians and Eretrians, commences an expedition againſt Sardis — — ii. 473
— reſolves on flight — — — ii. 488
— leaves Miletus to the care of Pythagoras — ii. 488
— takes poſſeſſion of a diſtrict in Thrace, proceeds to the attack

attack of another place, and falls with his army by the hands of the Thracians — — ii. 489
Arifteas, the poet — — — ii. 191
— ftrange ftory of — — — ii. 193
Ariftides, fon of Lyfimachus, his fhare in the victory of the Athenians at Marathon — — iii. 112, n.
— banifhed by a vote of the people — iii. 406
— lays afide his animofity towards Themiftocles for the good of his country — — — iii. 401
— during the battle of Salamis lands at Pfittaleia, and puts every Perfian there to death — iii. 414
— commands 8000 Athenians at the battle of Platæa, iv. 29
Ariftodemus, fon of Ariftomachus, faid by the Lacedæmonians to have firft introduced them into the region which they inhabit — — — iii. 46
Ariftodemus, of Sparta, receives the opprobrious name of trembler — — — iii. 326
— at the battle of Platæa, atones for his former conduct, — — — — iii. 327
— has no refpect paid him after the battle of Platæa iv. 64
Ariftogiton, with Harmodius, puts Hipparchus to death ii. 419
Arifton, king of Sparta, marries three wives — iii. 56
— artfully obtains the wife of his friend Agetus, and by her has Demaratus — — iii. 58
— dies, and is fucceeded by Demaratus — iii. 60
Ariftotle reported to have deftroyed himfelf at Euripus from mortification — — ii. 445, n.
Arithmetic, its firft introduction uncertain — ii. 269, n.
— mode of counting ufed by the ancients — ii. 269, n.
Aritonians — — — ii. 119, and n.
Ark of Noah confidered as prophetic, and a kind of temple of the deity — — i. 394, n.
Armenians, faid to have great plenty of cattle — ii. 412
Arms, the higheft degree of honour annexed to the exercife of — — — i. 420
Army, reflections on a ftanding one — i. 417, n.
— how difpofed by the Romans in attacking an enemy, and by the Greeks — — — iii. 147, n.

Artabanus,

Artabanus, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, endeavours to diſſuade Darius from his expedition againſt Scythia — ii. 258
— his ſpeech to Xerxes againſt the Athenian war iii 148
— in conſequence of a viſion recommends to Xerxes the proſecution of the Athenian war — iii. 159
— his converſation with Xerxes on his weeping at the ſight of his army — — — iii. 182
— expreſſes his fears of ſucceſs in the Athenian war, iii. 183
— is diſmiſſed by Xerxes to Suſa — iii. 188
Artabazanes, ſon of Darius, diſputes with Xerxes the ſucceſſion to the throne — — iii. 136
Artabazus, ſon of Pharnaces, leader of the Parthians and Choraſmians — — iii. 198
— accompanies Xerxes in his retreat over the Helleſpont, — — — — iii. 439
— beſieges Potidæa, and takes Olynthus — iii. 440
— is compelled by an inundation to retire from Potidæa, — — — — iii. 441
— joins Mardonius in Theſſaly — — iii. 442
— his advice to Mardonius previous to the battle of Platæa, — — — — iv. 38
— his meaſures with reſpect to Mardonius — iv. 59
— flies with his troops towards Phocis after the battle of Platæa — — — iv. 60
— flies from Platæa to the Theſſalians — iv. 78
— by artifice eſcapes to Aſia — — iv. 79
Artachæes buried by Xerxes with great magnificence iii. 228
Artanes, brother of Darius — — iii. 321
Artaphernes, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and brother of Darius, is left governor of Sardis — — ii. 389
— with Otanes, takes Clazomenæ and Cyma — ii. 487
— his expreſſion to Hiſtiæus on the fate of Ariſtagoras iii. 1
— intercepts letters from Hiſtiæus to certain Perſians at Sardis, and puts a great number of Perſians to death, — — — — iii. 3
— with Harpagus, crucifies Hiſtiæus the Mileſian iii 39
— his uſeful regulations among the Ionians iii. 40

Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, together with Datis, is commanded by Darius to subdue Eretria and Athens iii. 91
— with Datis, carries the captive Eretrians to Susa iii. 116
Artaxerxes, meaning of his name — — iii. 94
Artayctes, his cruelty and profligacy — — iv. 98
— taken captive by the Greeks — — iv. 101
— his son stoned in his presence, and himself crucified iv. 102
Artaynta, Xerxes' intrigue with, how discovered — iv. 93
Artayntes reproached by Masistes for behaving like a woman, — — — — iv. 91
Artembares — — — iv. 102
Artembaris — — — i. 120
Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, serves in the Grecian expedition under Xerxes — — iii. 213
— two of this name — — iii. 213, n.
— her free advice to Xerxes, against risking a battle with the Greeks — — — iii. 391
— her stratagem in the battle of Salamis — iii. 406
— is pursued by Aminias, a price being set on her head by the Greeks; but escapes to Phalerum — iii. 412
— her advice to Xerxes concerning the continuance of the Grecian war — — iii. 420
— is directed by Xerxes to retire to Ephesus with his children — — — — iii. 422
Artemisium — — — iii. 283
Artybius, his horse taught to assist him in battle — ii. 481
— his horse's feet cut off by the servant of Onesilus, during his combat with Artybius — — ii. 482
Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, married to Darius — ii. 108
— a golden statue erected in her honour, by Darius iii. 194
Aryandes condemned to death by Darius, for issuing a coin in imitation of him — — ii. 326
Asbystæ remarkable for their chariots drawn by four horses, — — — — ii. 330. 366
Ascalon, ancient temple of Venus there — i. 111
Asia considered by the Persians as their own peculiar possession — — — i. 7

Asia, the entire possession of it gained by the Scythians, — — — — i. 111
— recovered from the Scythians by the Medes — i. 113
— its figure and size — — ii. 213
— a considerable part discovered by Darius — ii. 219
— whence called Asia — — ii. 221
— divided into Asia Major and Minor — ii. 221, n.
— barbarians of, practise the same ceremonies with the Lacedæmonians on the death of their kings — iii. 54
Asopus, his sons and daughters — ii. 448, n. iv. 47, n.
Asopus, the river, the Grecian army encamped on the banks of, previous to the battle of Platæa — iv. 29
Assemblies, popular, remarks on — ii. 99, n.
Asses, impatient of cold — — ii. 204, n.
— none in England in Holingshed's time — ii. 204, n.
— the English breed comparatively less beautiful ii. 204, n.
— not produced in Scythia — — ii. 294
— by their braying, greatly distress the horses of the Scythians — — — ii. 294
— in Africa with horns — — ii. 347
— in Africa, some which never drink — ii. 350
— chariots of war drawn by wild asses — iii. 206
Assyria, historians of — — i. 192, n.
— has little rain — — — i. 192
— how fertilized — — i. 192
— most fruitful in corn — — — i. 193
Assyrians vanquished by Cyaxares — i. 110
— part of them subdued by the Medes — i. 114
— Cyrus marches against them — — i. 177
— their army put to flight by means of mice — i. 388
— by the Greeks are called Syrians — iii. 197
Astyages, son of Cyaxares, detained in captivity by Cyrus, — — — — i. 76
— succeeds to the throne of his father — i. 114
— marries his daughter Mandane to Cambyses — i. 115
— commands Cyrus, as soon as born, to be put to death, i. 115; but his intention is defeated by Mitridates — — — — i. 119

Astyages discovers Cyrus — — — i. 121
— sends Cyrus to his parents in Persia — i. 126
— Cyrus prevails on the Persians to revolt against him, and his army is defeated — — i. 131
— crucifies the Magi — — i. 132
— is taken prisoner by the Persians, and the greater part of his army destroyed — — i. 132
— his reply to the insult of Harpagus — i. 132
— said by Isocrates to have been put to death by Cyrus, — — — — i. 133, n.
Asychis, king of Ægypt, succeeds Mycerinus — i. 381
— his ordinance for borrowing money — i. 381
— builds a pyramid of brick — — i. 382
— is succeeded by Anysis — — i. 382
Athamas, son of Æolus, the eldest of his descendants, forbidden by the Achaians to enter their prytaneum iii. 301
Athenades slays Ephialtes — — iii. 313
Athenians, anciently took only two repasts in the day i. 62, n.
— recover their liberty, ii. 419; and become greater than ever — — — ii. 432
— are divided into factions — — ii. 433
— send ambassadors to form an alliance with the Persians, who agree to send Darius earth and water — ii. 443
— march with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis, who all retire — — ii. 444
— obtain a complete victory over the Bœotians at the Euripus, and over the Chalcidians in Eubœa — ii. 446
— continue to increase in number and importance; happy effects of their liberty — — ii. 447
— sustain considerable injury from the Thebans assisted by the Æginetæ — — — ii. 450
— occasion of their enmity with the Æginetæ — ii. 450
— warned by the oracle to refrain from all hostilities with the Æginetæ for thirty years — — ii. 456
— preparing to revenge themselves on the Æginetæ, are impeded by the Lacedæmonians — ii. 457
— after various encounters with the Mitylenians, by the award of Periander, retain Sigeum — ii. 470

Athenians, refusing to recal Hippias, are considered as the enemies of Persia — — — ii. 470
— their number, 30,000 — — — ii. 471
— by the persuasion of Aristagoras, assist the Ionians with 20 vessels of war against the Persians, ii. 472; but the expedition not proving successful, withdraw themselves entirely from the Ionians — — ii. 476
— their uneasiness on the destruction of Miletus — iii. 19
— greatly offended by the compliance of the Æginetæ with the demands of Darius, accuse them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece — — iii. 44
— refuse to deliver hostages to Leutychides — iii. 82
— an act of violence committed by the Æginetæ on some of the most illustrious Athenians at Sunium — iii. 86
— a quinquereme at Sunium, full of the most illustrious Athenians, taken by the Æginetæ — — iii. 86
— determine on the ruin of Ægina, which Nicodromus agrees to deliver into their hands — — iii. 87
— conquer the Æginetæ — — iii. 89
— are defeated by the Æginetæ — — iii. 90
— assist the Eretrians against Darius, iii. 95; but on their not acting with firmness, return home — iii. 97
— on the arrival of the Persian army at Marathon, advance thither — — — iii. 98
— dispatch Phidippides to Sparta, in consequence of whose vision they build a temple to Pan — iii. 100
— are deprived of the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, by an inveterate custom — — iii. 103
— are joined by the Platæans, in return for assistance afforded them against the Thebans — — iii. 106
— their Polemarch interposes in favour of an engagement with the Persians — — — iii. 108
— disposition of their army previous to the battle of Marathon — — — iii. 110
— vow to sacrifice goats to Diana — — iii. 111, n.
— the first Greeks who ran to attack an enemy — iii. 111
— obtain a complete victory over the Persians at Marathon, — — — — iii. 112

Athenians prevent the designs of the Persians, who had retired with their fleet and endeavoured to arrive at Athens before the Athenians — — iii. 114
— their loss of men in the battle of Marathon — iii. 115
— are congratulated on their victory by 2000 Lacedæmonians — — — iii. 118
— Clisthenes, son of Megacles, divided them into tribes, and introduced a democracy — — iii. 128
— expelled the Pelasgi from Attica — iii. 131
— their females, while celebrating the feast of Diana near Brauron, surprized and taken captive, and afterwards, with their children, put to death by the Lemnians, — — — — iii. 132
— throw the messengers of Darius into their pit of punishment — — — iii. 239
— consult the oracle of Delphi on the approach of Xerxes and his army against Greece — iii. 247
— advised by Themistocles, in consequence of the oracle, to prepare for a naval engagement — iii. 250
— employ their fleet against Xerxes, originally intended against Ægina — — iii. 251
— send to several of the Grecian states for assistance against Xerxes — — — iii. 251
— their claim to antiquity — — iii. 269, n.
— on the approach of Xerxes's army, proclaimed by a herald, that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power — iii. 366
— their original names Pelasgi and Cranai, afterwards Cecropidæ, and Athenians — — iii. 368
— their hospitality to strangers — — iii. 438, n.
— Mardonius courts an alliance with them iii. 446; which they refuse — — iii. 454
— stone Lycidas, a senator, and his wife and children iv. 4.
— on the arrival of Mardonius in Bœotia, remove to Salamis — — — — iv. 5
— send envoys to Lacedæmon for assistance against Mardonius — — — iv. 5

Athenians, the Spartans ſend 5000 men to aſſiſt them againſt Mardonius — — — iv. 9
— diſpute between them and the Tegeans, previous to the battle of Platæa — — — iv. 23
— owed the ruin of their ancient conſtitution principally to their victories over the Perſians — iv. 58, n.
— the freedom of 500, purchaſed of the Perſians by the Samians — — — iv. 86
— beſiege and take Seſtos — — iv. 98
— return from the battles of Platæa and Mycale to Greece — — — — iv. 102
— obſervations on them — — iv. 166
Athens, a body of 2000 Lacedæmonians arrive at, and congratulate the Athenians on their victory at Marathon, — — — — iii. 118
— the citadel taken and burnt by Xerxes — iii. 376
— poſſeſſed a ſecond time by Mardonius — iv. 3
— burnt by Mardonius — — iv. 12
— its various fates — — — iv. 12, n.
— derivation of the name — — iv. 172
Athos, mount, propoſed by Steſicrates to be converted into the ſtatue of Alexander — — i. 409, n.
— Mardonius ſuffers a conſiderable loſs of ſhips and men near — — — — iii. 41
— deſcription of it — — — iii. 42, n.
— detachments of the army of Xerxes compelled to dig a paſſage through it, iii. 162; this incredible, iii. 162, n.
Atlantes, have no diſtinction of names — ii. 342
— execrate the ſun — — ii. 342
— ſaid never to feed on any thing that has life, and never to dream — — — ii. 342
— diſtinct from the Atlantei — — ii. 365
Atlas, mount, its loftineſs — — ii. 342
— mentioned by Homer — — ii. 365
Atoſſa, daughter of Cyrus, is cured of an ulcer by Democedes, — — — — ii. 155
— urges Darius to an expedition againſt Greece, ii. 156. — — — — iii. 428, n.

Atoſſa,

Atossa, the name applied by Pope to Sarah dutchess of Marlborough — — — iv. 158
Attaginus, son of Phrynon, gives a magnificent entertainment to Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank, at Thebes — — — iv. 14
— his person demanded by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa — — — iv. 77
— flies — — — — iv. 78
Atys, son of Crœsus, his death intimated to his father in a vision — — — i. 36
— his aid against a wild boar requested by the Mysians i. 39; in the hunting of which he is killed — i. 43
Atys, son of Menes, famine in Lydia in his reign i. 102
Averroes, his imprecation — — ii. 89, n.
Ausenses, their customs — — ii. 337. 347
Automoli, origin of — — — i. 248
Autonous, hero of Delphi — — iii. 365
Auxesia, a name of Proserpine — — ii. 450, n.
Aziris, a colony settled there by the Thereans — ii. 319
— written Azilis by Callimachus — — ii. 363
Azotus, Psammitichus spends 29 years in the siege of i. 410

B.

Babylon, the royal residence after the destruction of Nineveh, — — — — i. 178
— described — — — i. 178
— taken by Cyrus — — — i. 190
— a proof of its power and greatness — i. 191
— besieged by Darius — — — ii. 169
— taken by a stratagem of Zopyrus — ii. 176
Babylonians, their clothing — — i. 196
— wear their hair long, covered with a turban — i. 197
— lavish in perfumes — — — i. 197
— their walking-sticks — — — i. 197

Babylonians, their laws — — i. 197
— sell their young women by auction to the men — i. 198
— their law concerning the sick — — i. 199
— their funeral rites — — — i. 200
— their purifications — — — i. 200
— their abominable custom at the temple of Venus i. 200
— three of their tribes live on fish — — i. 202
— revolt from Darius — — ii. 168
— destroy most of their females — — ii. 169
— three thousand of their most distinguished nobility crucified by order of Darius — — ii. 177
Bacchiadæ had formerly the government of Corinth, ii. 460
Bacchus, his name and sacrifice first taught the Greeks by Melampus — — — i. 275
— and Ceres, considered by the Ægyptians as the great deities of the realms below — — i. 360
— erroneous representation of, by modern artists i. 378, n.
— of the third rank of gods in Ægypt — i. 394
— said to be the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus i. 395
— said by the Greeks to have been carried by Jupiter in his thigh to Nysa — — i. 395
— worshipped in Thrace — — ii. 373
— derivation of his name Iacchus — iii. 385, n.
— why the fan carried before his image — iii. 385, n.
— a volume on his rites written by Nonnus — iv. 146
Bacis, oracle of — — — iii. 351
Back or chine of sacrificed animals assigned by the Spartans to their princes in war — — iii. 50
Bactra, formerly a place of importance, now unknown — — — — iii. 7, n.
Baldness, Ægyptians prevent, by shaving their heads from a very early age — — ii. 13
Banishment, a punishment at a very early period of the world — — — — ii. 112, n.
— its effects on the greatest and wisest of mankind ii. 113, n.
— an offender sent into, among the Romans, was interdicted the use of fire and water — — ii. 292, n.
— called ostracism — — — iii. 400, n.

Banishment called petalism — iii. 401, n.
Barbarians, a term used by the ancients in a much milder sense than by us — — i. 1, n. iv. 10, n.
Barce, its founders — — — ii. 321
— besieged by the Persians, ii. 357; and entered by stratagem — — — — ii. 359
— a portion of land of the same name, in the Bactrian district, — — — — ii. 360
— supposed to be the ancient Ptolemais — ii. 364
Barceans, hostilities commenced against them by Aryandes, — — — — ii. 327
— their women abstain from the flesh of heifers and of swine — — — — ii. 344
— such of them as had been instrumental in the death of Arcesilaus put to death — — ii. 359
Bards, English, resembled the ancient rhapsodists, ii. 435, n.
Baris, the name of the mountain on which Noah's ark rested, — — — — i. 328, n.
Barley, a liquor fermented from, drunk by the Ægyptians — — — — i. 307
— wine, Osiris the inventor of — — i. 393, n.
— the straw of, used in sacrifice to the regal Diana, ii. 210.
Barrows, the practice of raising, over the bodies of the deceased, almost universal in the earlier ages ii. 374, n.
Bassaria, animals in Africa — — ii. 351
Baths, the offices of, performed by females — iii. 16, n.
Bats, the language of the Troglodytæ like the screaming of — — — — — ii. 341
Battus, son of Polymnestus — — ii. 312
— some account of him — — — ii. 315
— founds the city Platæa — — — ii. 318
— establishes a colony at Aziris, in Africa — ii. 319
— removes to a better situation — — ii. 319
— is succeeded by his son Arcesilaus — — ii. 320
Battus, the lame, son of Arcesilaus, succeeds his father in the government of the Cyreneans — — ii. 321
Beans, why not eaten by the Pythagoreans — i. 261, n.
— not eaten by the Ægyptians — — i. 262

Beans, what implied in the Pythagorean precept to abſtain from them — — — ii. 295, n.
Bears rarely ſeen in Ægypt — — i. 294
— ſaid by Pliny not to be produced in Africa — ii. 347, n.
— lions called bears by the Romans — ii. 347, n.
Beaſts. See *Animals*.
Beavers, their ſkins uſed by the Budini to border their garments — — — ii. 279
Beauty, perſonal, honoured in various places — ii. 409, n.
Becket, Thomas à, the riches of his ſhrine met with a fate ſimilar to thoſe of the temple of Delphi — iv. 164, n.
Beer, Britiſh, ſuperior to any other — i. 308, n.
Bees ſaid to poſſeſs the parts beyond the Iſter — ii. 376
— impatient of cold — — — ii. 376
Beetle conſidered as an emblem of the ſun — ii. 36, n.
Behemoth of ſcripture, generally ſuppoſed the hippopotamus — — — — i. 299, n.
— according to Mr. Bruce, the elephant — iv. 127
Beſſi, interpreters of the oracle of Bacchus — iii. 226
Bias, of Priene, his memorable reply to Crœſus — i. 28
— his good advice to the Ionians — — i. 169
Bias, brother of Melampus, receives a third part of the kingdom of the Argives — — iv. 34
Biblos, when ſcarce, ſupplied by the ſkins of goats and ſheep — — — — ii. 425
— Xerxes provides cordage for his bridges over the river Strymon, made of its bark and of white flax iii. 164
Birds, ſuperſtition of the ancients reſpecting their fight or flight — — — ii. 90, n.
Birth of a child, the Trauſi lament over — ii. 369
Biſaltica, king of, his unnatural action to his ſons — iii. 433
Bito and Cleobis, their reward for drawing their mother in a carriage to the temple of Juno — — i. 32
Blood, ancient and modern nations of the Eaſt ratify alliances by drinking their own — i. 79, n.
— of an human victim mixed with wine, accompanied the moſt ſolemn forms of execration among the ancients — — — — ii. 12, n.

Blood of bullocks, taken fresh from the animal, considered by the ancients as a powerful poison — ii. 18, n.
— Scythians drink the blood of their enemies — ii. 236
Boar, wild, does much injury to the Mysians — i. 39
— its ravages considered by the ancients as most formidable — — — i. 39, n.
— never seen in Africa — — ii. 352
— the chief food of the lion — — ii. 352, n.
Boats, Armenian, used in Babylonia, described — i. 195
— anciently made of skins of beasts by all the inhabitants of the sea coasts — — — iv. 117
Bœotians overcome by the Athenians at the Euripus ii. 445
— take part with the Medes against Greece — iii. 361
— fight the Athenians at Platæa, with obstinate resolution — — — — iv. 60
Boges, governor of Eïon, and his descendants, honourably regarded in Persia — — iii. 223
— besieged by the Athenians, and reduced to extremity, slays his family, and then himself — iii. 223
Boreas considered by the Athenians as their son-in-law, — — — — iii. 295
— a shrine erected to him — — iii. 295
— married Orithya, iii. 295; beautiful use of this fable by Milton — — — iv. 163
Boryes, animals in Africa — — ii. 351
Borysthenes, the river — — ii. 228
— next to the Nile the most productive — ii. 229
Bosphorus — — — ii. 203. iv. 140
— a bridge thrown over it at Chalcedon, by Darius, in his expedition against Scythia — — ii. 259
— point of its erection — — — ii. 262
Bottiæans, their origin — — iii. 290, n.
Bowls, game of, invented by the Lydians — i. 102
Boys, passion for, learned by the Persians from the Greeks, — — — — i. 139
— not permitted by the Persians to see their fathers till their fifth year — — — i. 140
Bracelets of the orientals remarkably heavy — ii. 25, n.

Bracelets

Bracelets formerly an enſign of royalty — ii. 25, n.
Branchidæ, temple of — — i. 47, n.
Braſs the ſcarceſt of all metals with the Æthiopians ii. 28
— none poſſeſſed by the Scythians — ii. 244
— ſaid by Lucretius to have been formerly preferred to gold — — — — ii. 413, n.
Brauronia, a feaſt of the Athenians every five years iii. 132, n.
Bridge, ancient method of conſtructing — i. 79, n.
— of Nitocris — — — i. 185
— one conſtructed over the Boſphorus, by command of Darius — — — ii. 259
— origin of the name in Greek — ii. 426, n.
— one conſtructed over the Helleſpont by Xerxes iii. 170
— another — — — iii. 172
Britain, Great, its government — ii. 102, n.
— ſuppoſed to be one of the iſlands called Caſſiterides — — — — ii. 135, n.
Britomartis, a name of Diana — — ii. 68, n.
Brother, the life of one preferred to thoſe of a huſband and children — —— — ii. 139
Brunduſium — — — ii. 272
Brygi of Thrace, attack and wound Mardonius, but are reduced by him — — — iii. 42
Bubaris, ſon of Megabyzus, Alexander gives his ſiſter in marriage to — — — ii. 386
— with Antachæus, conducted the work of digging through mount Athos — — — iii. 162
Bubaſtis, temple at — — — i. 383
— in Greek ſynonymous with Artemis or Diana — i. 383
— Diana ſo called by the Ægyptians — i. 410
Bucklers, Perſian — — iv. 56, n.
Budini, a numerous people, paint their bodies; have a town built of wood — — — ii. 278
Buffon, anecdote of — — iii. 151, n.
Bulis and Sperthies, preſent themſelves before Xerxes to make atonement for the Perſian ambaſſadors put to death at Sparta — — — iii. 243
Bullock, its freſh blood conſidered by the ancients as a powerful poiſon — — ii. 18, n. 118, n.

Bulls sacrificed by the Ægyptians — — i. 271
— their flesh never eaten by the Africans from Ægypt as far as lake Tritonis — — ii. 343
— one sacrificed by Cleomenes to the ocean — iii. 74
— the usual victims to the Dii Magni; not frequently, if ever, sacrificed to Jupiter — iii. 74, n.
— one sacrificed to the Ægyptian Typhon, gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites — iii. 74, n.
Burial alive, a common custom in Persia — iii. 227
— of the dead. See *Funerals*.
Burning, wives in India burn themselves on their husbands' funeral pile — — ii. 371, n.
— of the dead. See *Funerals*.
Busiris, temple of Diana at — — i. 283
Butos, shrine of Latona at, of one solid stone — i. 408
Butter unknown to the Greeks and Romans — ii. 182, n.
Byblus of Ægypt, its uses — — i. 325
Byssus means cotton — i. 317, n. iii. 287, n.
— improperly rendered 'linen' by the translators of the English Bible — — iii. 287, n.
Byzantium reduced by Otanes — — ii. 390
— reduced by the Ionians — — ii. 476

C.

Cabaleis, a name of the Lycians, whence derived — iv. 145
Cabiri, mysteries of — — i. 277
— their temple entered, and statues burnt, by Cambyses ii. 44
— derivations of the word — — iv. 126
Cadmean victory — — — i. 166
Cadmus, son of Scythes, an instance of his rectitude iii. 271
Cadytis possessed by Necos, king of Ægypt — i. 413
— Jerusalem — — — i. 413, n.
Cæneus, his story — — ii. 461, n.
Cairo, its air unwholesome — — i. 306, n.
— its canal opened annually with great pomp i. 319, n.

Calacte — — — iii. 20
Calais, behaviour of one of its principal inhabitants at a siege — — — . 77, n.
Calami, in Samos, derivation of its name iv. 83, n.
Calchas killed himſelf — — iii. 210, n.
Callias, the ſon of Phænippus, his hatred of tyrants iii. 118
— a whimſical ſtory of him from Plutarch iii. 118, n.
— his honours at the Olympic games — iii. 119
— his liberality to his daughters — iii. 119
Callicrates mortally wounded by an arrow, while ſitting in his rank at a ſacrifice — — iv. 64
Callimachus of Aphidnæ, an Athenian polemarch iii. 108
— by his interpoſition the Athenians determine on an engagement with the Perſians at Marathon — iii. 109
— loſes his life in the battle of Marathon — iii. 112
Calves, male, without blemiſh, ſacrificed by the Ægyptians — — — — i. 271
Cambyſes, ſon of Cyrus, marries Mandane — i. 115
— ſucceeds his father — — i. 215
— undertakes an expedition againſt Ægypt — i. 216
— leads an army againſt Amaſis, king of Ægypt ii. 1
— his parentage — — — ii. 4
— engages Pſammenitus, ſon of Amaſis, and defeats him — — — — ii. 11
— inſults the dead body of Amaſis — ii. 18. iv. 133
— determines to commence hoſtilities againſt the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian Ægyptians — — — ii. 21
— ſends Ichthyophagi to the Æthiopians with a meſſage to the prince — — — ii. 22
— ſuddenly marches his army againſt the Æthiopians ii. 30
— ſends part of his army againſt the Ammonians ii. 30
— abandons his deſign againſt the Æthiopians ii. 31
— fate of his army againſt the Ammonians — ii. 32
— puts to death the magiſtrates of Memphis ii. 35
— mortally wounds Apis, and puniſhes his prieſts ii. 36
— ſaid in conſequence to have become inſane — ii. 37
— puts his brother Smerdis to death — ii. 37

Cambyses marries his sister, and not long afterwards a second, whom he puts to death — — ii. 39
— other instances of his phrenzy — ii. 40
— his brothers excite a revolt against him while in Ægypt — — — — ii. 71
— his brother Smerdis is placed on the throne ii. 71
— in leaping hastily on his horse is mortally wounded by his own sword — — — ii. 75
— his speech to the Persians previous to his death ii. 76
— his death — — — ii. 79
— succeeded by his brother Smerdis — ii. 80
— was the Ahasuerus in Ezra, who obstructed the work of the temple — — — ii. 82, n.
Camel hated by the horse, i. 84; this disproved i. 84, n.
— interesting description of — — ii. 122, n.
— certain camels consecrated to Mahomet ii. 123, n.
— particulars concerning — — ii. 123
— several destroyed by lions — — iii. 233
— has no separate stomach or reservoir different from those of all ruminating animals — iv. 136
Camicus, besieged by the Cretans — iii. 278
Canals, Babylonian — — i. 193, n.
— intersecting Ægypt — — i. 339
— one hundred and twenty thousand Ægyptians perished in making one to the Red Sea — i. 412
Candaules, king of Sardis — — i. 10
— his proposal to Gyges — — i. 12
— is murdered, and his empire seized by Gyges i. 17
— his fate resented by the Lydians — i. 17
Cappadocians, their cavalry esteemed — iii. 299, n.
Caravanseras — — — ii. 416, n.
Cardia, why so called — — iii. 35
Carians, resentment of certain of their women for the death of their parents — — i. 151
— originally islanders — i. 170. iii. 350, n.
— their ingenuity — — — i. 170
— the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments and handles to their shields — i. 170. 406, n.

Carians rewarded by Psammitichus, king of Ægypt, for their assistance — — — i. 407
— preserved a constant communication between Ægypt and Greece — — — i. 407
— the first who let out troops for hire — ii. 432, n.
— the greater part of them join the Ionians against the Persians — — — ii. 476
— are overcome by Daurises, a Persian general, on the banks of the Marsyas — — ii. 485
— assisted by the Milesians, engage the Persians a second time, and are defeated — — ii. 486
— in a subsequent action somewhat repair their former losses — — — — ii. 487
— subdued by the Persians — — iii. 26
— notorious pirates — — — iv. 131
Carnian festival — — — iii. 307
Carnivorous and cruel, a common association ii. 223, n.
Carthaginians, their fleet engages with the Phocæans i. 166
— Cambyses is prevented from sending an armament against them — — — ii. 22
— mode of their commerce with a people beyond the columns of Hercules — — ii. 355
— frequently gave the title of king to their generals — — — — iii. 272, n.
— sacrifice to Amilcar — — iii. 274
Carystians, besieged by the Persians, surrender iii. 95
— their lands wasted by the Greeks — iii. 436
— a war between them and the Athenians — iv. 90
Casia — — — ii. 128, n.
— how procured by the Arabians — ii. 130
Casius, mount, now mount Tenere — ii. 7, n.
Caspian sea communicates with no other — i. 204
Cassandane, the mother of Cambyses — ii. 4
Cassiterides, the islands — — ii. 135
Castor and Pollux, not among the Ægyptian gods i. 263
— entertained by Euphorion — — iii. 124
Castration, in a very early period, a punishment for various crimes — — — iii. 7, n.

Castration practised by the Persians on the Ionian youths — — — — iii. 31
— practised by the Hottentots — — iv. 152
Cats venerated by the Ægyptians — i. 290, n.
— their increase, how frustrated in Ægypt — i. 291
— their death lamented by the Ægyptians — i. 292
— buried by the Ægyptians — — i. 293
Cavalry, excellence of the Cappadocian and Paphlagonian — — — — iii. 299, n.
— why compared in Jeremiah to a rough caterpillar — — — — iv. 109
Caucasus the largest mountain in the world — i. 204
Caves, subterraneous, very frequent in the east iii. 362, n.
Caunians, account of — — i. 171
Cause-way erected by Cheops in Ægypt — i. 365
Cecrops, the first among the Greeks who erected a statue to Minerva — — — i. 134, n.
— under him the Athenians took the name of Cecropidæ — — — — iii. 368
— said to have been of a twofold nature — iii. 368, n.
Celtæ, except the Cynetæ, the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe — — ii. 226
Cercopes, robbers; Homer said to have written a poem on them — — — iii. 315, n.
Ceres, in the Greek tongue the name of Isis i. 283
— Rhampsinitus plays at dice with — i. 359
— and Bacchus esteemed by the Ægyptians as the great deities of the realms below — i. 360
— called Isis by the Ægyptians — i. 410
— her mysteries — — i. 422. iii. 14, 385
— her temple in Scythia — — ii. 230
— called Damia — — ii. 450, n.
— certain Chians put to death by the Ephesians for approaching the city during the celebration of her mysteries — — — — iii. 14
— Athenian rites in honour of her and Proserpine iii. 386
— her grove in the Theban territories — iv. 59

Ceres, Achæan, her edifice and myſteries at Athens — ii. 427
Ceres Amphictyonis — — — iii. 303
Ceres, Eleuſinian — — — iv. 52
Ceres Theſmophoros — — — iii. 89
Ceſarius, a magiſtrate of high rank, goes poſt from Antioch to Conſtantinople — — iii. 417, n.
Chalcedon, its fine ſituation — — ii. 305, n.
— reduced by Otanes — — ii. 390
Chalcidians lay waſte the Athenian territories ii. 444
— overcome by the Athenians in Eubœa — ii. 446
— join the army of Xerxes — — iii. 290
— become maſters of Olynthus — iii. 440
Chaldeans in the army of Xerxes — iii. 197
Challenge given by Mardonius to the Spartans at Platæa — — — — iv. 44
— frequently adopted in earlier ages — iv. 45, n.
Charaxus, brother of Sappho, purchaſes the liberty of Rhodopis — — — i. 379
— ſatirized by Sappho — — i. 381
Chariots, one of braſs placed by the Athenians at the entrance of the citadel — — ii. 446
— of war — — — ii. 483, n.
— one ſacred to Jupiter drawn in the proceſſion of Xerxes' army from Sardis, iii. 178; loſt by him in Macedonia — — — — iii. 433
— that of Xerxes drawn by Niſæan horſes — iii. 178
Charles I. his laſt word to Dr. Juxon — iii. 90, n.
Cheeſe, according to Pliny, neglected by the barbarous nations — — — ii. 182, n.
Chemmis, in Ægypt — — i. 320
— the ſame with Panopolis and Akmim — i. 320, n.
— the Ægyptians affirm the iſland of Chemmis to be a floating iſland — — — i. 409
Chenalopex, a bird venerated by the Ægyptians i. 300
Cheops, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds Rhampſinitus i. 363
— his profligacy — — — i. 363
— makes the Ægyptians labour ſervilely for himſelf i. 363
— works carried on in Ægypt during his reign i. 364

Cheops, king of Ægypt, proftituted his daughter — i. 370
— a pyramid built with ftones procured by his daughter's proftitution — — — i. 370
— fucceeded by his brother Chephren — i. 371
Chephren, king of Ægypt, fucceeds his brother Cheops i. 371
— builds a pyramid — — i. 371
— is fucceeded by Mycerinus, fon of Cheops — i. 372
Cherfonefe, except Cardia, reduced by the Phœnicians iii. 32
— origin of its fubjection to Miltiades, fon of Cypfelus — — — — iii. 32
— its length — — — iii. 35
— becomes fubject to Stefagoras, iii. 36; and to Miltiades, fon of Cimon — — — iii. 38
Chians affift the Milefians in their war with the Lydians — — — — i. 21
— their honourable conduct in a fea fight near Miletus iii. 13
— feveral put to death by the Ephefians, for approaching the city when the women were celebrating the rites of Ceres — — — iii. 14
— fubdued by Hiftiæus — — iii. 26
Children, two brought up by a fhepherd without fpeaking before them, to know what word they would firft pronounce — — — i. 216
— two facrificed by Menelaus to appeafe the winds i. 352
— fourteen Perfian, of illuftrious birth, interred alive by order of Ameftris, wife of Xerxes, in honour of the deity under the earth — — — iii. 227
— facrificed to Saturn — — iii. 273, n.
Chileus prevails on the Spartans to affift the Athenians againft Mardonius — — iv. 8
Chine always confidered by the ancients as the honourable portion — — — iii. 50, n.
Chios famous for purple — — iii. 422, n.
Chirurgery among the ancients — i. 314, n.
Chivalry poffibly of Grecian origin — iii. 122, n.
Choafpes, the kings of Perfia drank no water but this i. 188
— Milton's affertion doubted, that its water was the drink of none but kings — i. 188, n. iv. 115

Choafpes,

Choaspes, Xerxes during his march drank of it when quite putrid — — — i. 188, n.
Chorus, tragic, ſome account of — ii. 436, n.
Chronology of the Ægyptians greatly embarraſſed i. 359, n.
Chymiſtry carried to a high degree of perfection by the Ægyptians — — — i. 316, n.
Cilicians ſaid to pay annually a tribute of five hundred talents — — — ii. 412
— ſupply Xerxes with one hundred ſhips — iii. 209
— derive their name from Cilex — — iii. 209
Cimmerian darkneſs — — ii. 179, n.
Cimmerians, their incurſion into Ionia — — i. 9
— poſſeſs Sardis — — — i. 20
— driven out of Aſia — — i. 20
— when expelled their country by the Scythians, fled to the Aſiatic Cherſoneſe — — ii. 191
— their deſcent — — — iv. 106
Cimon, ſon of Steſagoras, driven from Athens by the influence of Piſiſtratus — — — iii. 98
— his victories in the Olympic games — iii. 98
— aſſaſſinated — — — iii. 99
Cinnamon — — — — ii. 127, n.
— how collected by the Arabians — ii. 131
Cinyps, the river, its riſe — — ii. 334
— diſtrict of, equal to any country in the world for its corn — — — — ii. 356
— a colony founded near it by Dorieus, ſon of Cleomenes — — — — ii. 404
Circumciſion practiſed in Ægypt — — i. 258
— its uſe among the Æthiopians and Jews, and in Otaheite — — — — i. 258, n.
— uſed from time immemorial by the Colchians, Ægyptians, and Æthiopians — — i. 335
— borrowed from Ægypt by the Phœnicians and Syrians of Paleſtine, i. 335; by other Syrians and the Macrones, from the Colchians — — i. 336
— not known whether Ægypt or Æthiopia firſt introduced it — — — — i. 336

Citharædus, distinction between that term and Citharistes — — — — — i. 24, n.
Clasps, a man killed by wounds from them, by the hands of Athenian women — — ii. 454
— general form of those worn by the ancients ii. 455, n.
Clazomenæ invaded by Alyattes — — i. 20
— taken by Artaphernes and Otanes — ii. 488
Cleades, the son of Autodicus, raises the monument of the Æginetæ at Platæa — — — iv. 76
Cleander, son of Pantareus, assassinated by Sabyllus iii. 262
Cleobis and Bito, rewarded for drawing their mother in a carriage to the temple of Juno — — i. 32
Cleombrotus, son of Cleomenes, his birth — ii. 403
Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, and king of Sparta, instance of his self-denial — — ii. 167
— his birth — — — ii. 402
— is preferred to the sovereignty — — ii. 403
— his reign short — — — ii. 410
— rejects the solicitations of Aristagoras to make an incursion into Asia — — ii. 414. 416
— restores the Athenians to their liberty — ii. 431
— his stratagem on that occasion — — ii. 431, n.
— at the instance of Isagoras, pronounces sentence of expulsion against Clisthenes and other Athenians ii. 441
— sends into exile seven hundred Athenian families; proceeds to dissolve the senate, but is opposed; and, after seizing the citadel, is besieged by the Athenians, and compelled to accept terms and depart — ii. 441
— levies forces against the Athenians in different parts of the Peloponnese, and takes possession of Eleusis ii. 443
— is repulsed from Ægina — — iii. 45
— persecuted by Demaratus during his absence at Ægina — — — — iii. 56
— together with Leotychides asserts the illegitimacy of Demaratus, and procures from the oracle of Delphi a declaration of it, iii. 61; in consequence of which Demaratus is deprived of his dignity — iii. 63
— proceeds with Leotychides against Ægina — iii. 69

Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, fearing the resentment of the Spartans, flies to Thessaly, thence to Arcadia, where he endeavours to raise a commotion against Sparta — — — — iii. 70
— is invited back to Sparta — — iii. 71
— is seized with madness — — iii. 71
— in confinement procures a sword, with which he cuts off his flesh till he dies — — iii. 72
— his death ascribed to various crimes committed by him — — — — iii. 72
— set fire to the sacred wood of Argos — iii. 73
— punished the priest who interrupted him in offering sacrifice at the temple of Juno — — iii. 78
— offered sacrifice at the temple of Juno — iii. 78
— was accused by the Spartans of bribery, and of neglecting to take Argos, but acquitted — iii. 78
Clinias, son of Alcibiades, distinguishes himself in a sea fight between the Persians and Greeks — iii. 349
Clisthenes of Athens, contending with Isagoras for superiority, divides the Athenian state into factions — ii. 433
— divides the four Athenian tribes into ten ii. 433. 438
— sentence of expulsion pronounced against him and other Athenians — — — ii. 439
— the first who was punished by the law of ostracism, which he had introduced — — ii. 441, n.
— is recalled from banishment — — ii. 442
Clisthenes, prince of Sicyon, abolishes at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists — — ii. 434
— brings back to Sicyon the relics of Melanippus, and assigns to him the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus — — ii. 436
— at the Olympic games, offers his daughter in marriage to the most worthy — — iii. 122
— gives her to Megacles, and a talent of silver to each of the other candidates — — iii. 127
Clysters, how invented — — i. 303, n.
Cnidians, their attempt to reduce their country into the form of an island — — — i. 174

Cobon,

Cobon, ſon of Ariſtophantes, prevails on the prieſteſs of Apollo to ſay what Cleomenes deſired againſt Demaratus iii. 61
Cocalus ſuffocates Minos in a hot bath — iii. 277, n.
Cochineal, by its diſcovery we far ſurpaſs the colours of antiquity — — — i. 204, n.
Codrus of Athens, ſtory of — — ii. 445, n.
Coës, ſon of Erxander, his advice to Darius — ii. 268
— made prince of Mitylene for his advice to Darius ii. 377
— taken captive by Iatragoras — — ii. 400
— ſtoned by the Mitylenians — — ii. 401
Coffins of cryſtal uſed by the Æthiopians — ii. 28
— uſed in the eaſt — — — ii. 28, n.
— when introduced in England — — ii. 29, n.
— of glaſs — — — ii. 29, n.
Coin, gold, of the ancients, one-fiftieth part is ſuppoſed to have been alloy — — ii. 114, n.
Colas, his ſkill in diving — — iii. 342, n.
Colchians, of Ægyptian origin — — i. 335
— uſed circumciſion — — — i. 335
— their ſimilarity to the Ægyptians in many reſpects i. 336
Colchis, famous for ſlaves — — i. 110, n.
Colchos, the king of, demands the reſtitution of Medea i. 4
Cold, exceſſive, in Scythia — — ii. 203
Colony, ceremonies previous to founding one — ii. 404, n.
Colophon taken by Gyges — — i. 19
Colophonians build Smyrna — — i. 20
— excluded from the Apaturian feſtival — i. 152
— certain of them driven from their country, take poſſeſſion of Smyrna — — — i. 154
Columns erected by Seſoſtris, to commemorate his victories — — — — i. 333
— erected for various uſes in the earlier ages of antiquity — — — — iii 13, n.
Combat, *naval*, exhibited before Xerxes — — iii. 181
— thoſe of the Romans conſtituted one of their grandeſt ſhews — — — iii. 181, n.
Commerce, mode of, between the Carthaginians and a people beyond the columns of Hercules — ii. 355
Compaſs, points of the — — iii. 293, n.

Constantinople, ill treatment there of ambassadors in case of war, an exception to the general rule of nations — — — — ii. 73, n.
—, its situation well expressed by Ovid — ii. 302, n.
— most satisfactory account of it in Mr. Gibbon's History — — — — ii. 302, n.
Convulsions cured in the children of the African shepherds, by goat's urine — — ii. 344
Cookery in remote times performed by a queen for her husband — — — iii. 447
Corcyra built by the Corinthians — — ii. 58
Corcyreans, three hundred children of their principal families sent by Periander to Sardis, to be made eunuchs, protected and sent back by the Samians — ii. 57
— put the son of Periander to death — — ii. 63
— delude the Greeks in their war with Xerxes — iii. 274
Corinth, treasury of — — — i. 19
Corinthians contribute to an expedition of the Lacedæmonians against Samos — — — ii. 56
— their government under the Bacchiadæ — ii. 460
— oppose the restoration of Hippias to Athens — ii. 467
— furnish the Athenians with twenty ships against Ægina — — — — iii. 88
— interfere between the Thebans and Platæans — iii. 107
— said to have fled at the commencement of the battle of Salamis — — — iii. 413
— their women celebrated for their beauty — iv. 138
Corn, Babylonia fruitful in — — i. 193
Cornucopia, whence — — i. 225, n.
Corobius, of Itanus, goes with certain of the Thereans to the island Platæa in Africa, to found a colony there ii. 313
Coronæa, moles never seen in — — ii. 448
Correspondence, method of, between Timoxenus and Artabazus, at the siege of Potidæa, — iii. 440
— See *Epistles*.
Corycian cave — — — — iii. 362
Cotton, the byssus of the ancients, i. 317, n. ii. 127, n. — — — — iii. 287, n.
Countries, luxurious, render men effeminate — iv. 103

Courtesans, great profits of those of antiquity — i. 370
— of Naucratis generally beautiful — — i. 380
Cowardice, the people of Cyzicus remarkable for ii. 193, n.
Cows, why venerated by the Ægyptians above all other cattle — — — — i. 265
— their urine applied in some dangerous obstructions — — — — ii. 344, n.
Crassus, story of his death corresponds with that of Cyrus's — — — — i. 210, n.
— his wealth — — iii. 167, n.
Crates, his famous verses, describing part of the accounts of a man of fortune — — ii. 153, n.
Cream, neither Greeks nor Latins had a term to express it — — — — ii. 182, n.
Cretans, carried away Europa — — i. 4
— refuse to assist the Greeks against Xerxes — iii. 275
— their good government — — iii. 276, n.
— consequences of their siege of Camicus — iii. 278
— their defeat of the Tarentines — — iii. 279
— punished for their assisting Menelaus in the Trojan war — — — — — iii. 280
Crius, son of Polycritus, opposes Cleomenes — iii. 45
— delivered to Cleomenes as a hostage — iii. 69
— repulses Cleomenes from Ægina — — iii. 45
Crocodile described — — i. 294, and n.
— Herodotus's account of it confirmed by modern travellers — — — — i. 294, n.
— supposed to be the Leviathan of Job — i. 296, n.
— esteemed sacred by some of the Ægyptians, by others treated as an enemy — — i. 297
— singular story of one — — i. 297, n.
— an article of food in or near Elephantine — i. 298
— had many names — — i. 298, n.
— various methods of taking it — — i. 298, n.
— city of — — — i. 397
— land-crocodiles in Africa — — ii. 351
Crœsus, son of Alyattes, his descent — — i. 8
— the first Barbarian prince who exacted tribute from Greece — — — i. 9

Crœsus,

Crœsus, ſon of Alyattes, his family — i. 9
— his riches, whence — — — i. 18, n.
— ſucceeds to the throne of Lydia — — i. 27
— enters into an alliance with the Ionians of the iſlands — — — — — i. 29
— his conqueſts — — — i. 29
— entertains Solon — — — i. 30
— diſmiſſes him with indifference — — i. 35
— his two ſons — — — i. 36
— ſees a viſion menacing the death of his ſon Atys i. 36
— conſents to his ſon Atys' aſſiſting the Myſians againſt a wild boar — — — i. 41
— his behaviour on the loſs of Atys — — i. 43
— conſults the oracles of Greece and Lybia — i. 45
— ſacrifices to the oracle at Delphi — — i. 49
— ſends preſents to Delphi — — i. 50
— his gratitude to his bread-maker — i. 50, n.
— his preſents to Amphiaraus — — i. 52
— conſults the oracles at Delphi and of Amphiaraus concerning an expedition againſt the Perſians — i. 52
— his repeated liberality to Delphi, and his privileges there in conſequence — — i. 53
— conſults the Delphian oracle a third time — i. 53
— receives information of the oppreſſion of Athens by Piſiſtratus, i. 56; and of the Lacedæmonians — i. 64
— forms an offenſive alliance with the Spartans — i. 72
— arrives in Pteria, a part of Cappadocia — i. 80
— almoſt exterminates the Syrians — — i. 80
— engages with Cyrus on the plains of Pteria — i. 81
— returns to Sardis — — — i. 81
— is taken captive by Cyrus — — i. 87
— his dumb ſon recovers his ſpeech on ſeeing his father's life in danger — — — i. 90
— condemned by Cyrus to be burnt, i. 90; but a ſtorm of rain extinguiſhes the flames, i. 93; and he is releaſed by order of Cyrus, who treats him with reſpect i. 94
— ſends the Lydians to reproach the oracle at Delphi, and receives an anſwer — — — i. 96

Crœſus,

Crœsus, son of Alyattes, other sacred offerings of — i. 99
— goes with Cyrus into Asia — — i. 157
— his advice to Cyrus on a revolt of the Lydians i. 157
— his advice to Cyrus in attacking the Massagetæ, i. 206; which proves fatal to Cyrus — — i. 211
— his complimentary speech to Cambyses — ii. 41
— his advice to Cambyses — — ii. 43
— by order of Cambyses, is to be put to death, but is preserved — — — ii. 44
— by his menaces to the people of Lampsacum, procures the liberty of Miltiades — — iii. 36. iv. 153
— permits Alcmæon to take with him from Sardis as much gold as he can carry — — iii. 121
— represented by Spenser among the captives of Pride — — — — iv. 135
Crotona, eminence of its physicians — — ii. 154
— its people, assisted by Dorieus, take Sybacis — ii. 406
Crotoniatæ assist Greece with one vessel — iii. 371
— of Achæan origin — — — iii. 372
Crow sacred to Apollo — — — ii. 195, n.
Crucifixion, by the Persians generally preceded by beheading or flaying — — — ii. 147, n.
— the particular manner of the punishment unknown — — — — iii. 30. n.
Crystal abounds in Ægypt — — — ii. 29
Cubit, its length — — — i. 178, n.
Custom styled by Pindar the universal sovereign — ii. 46
— distinction between it and habit — — ii. 46, n.
Customs, all men tenacious of their own — ii. 45
— barbarous in barbarous nations, and similar in nations which have no communication — ii. 247, n.
Cyanean islands, said by the Greeks to have floated ii. 259
Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, at war with Alyattes — i. 20
— with his guests, partakes of human flesh served up by a number of fugitive Scythians, in revenge for his asperity, i. 76; which occasions a war between the Lydians and Medes — — — i. 77
— succeeds Phraortes in the government of the Medes i. 109

Cyaxares, ſon of Phraortes, the firſt who trained the Aſiatics to military ſervice — — — i. 110
— his engagement with the Lydians interrupted by an eclipſe — — — i. 110
— vanquiſhes the Aſſyrians — — i. 110
— beſieges Nineveh — — i. 110
— is defeated by the Scythians, and loſes his empire i. 111; but recovers it — — i. 114
— his death — — — i. 114
Cybele, her rites inſtituted in Scythia by Anacharſis ii. 250
— the trueſt idea of her rites, whence to be obtained — — — — — ii. 251, n.
— her temple at Sardis deſtroyed — — ii. 475
Cyclades, each of them diſtinguiſhed for ſome excellence — — — — ii. 66, n.
Cydias, his perfidy and premature death — iii. 85, n.
Cydon, in Crete, by whom built — — ii. 53
Cydrara, a pillar built at, by Crœſus, to define the boundaries of Phrygia and Lydia — — iii. 169
Cylon, of Athens, with a number of young men of the ſame age, put to death for a deſign on government ii. 439
Cyma taken by Artaphernes and Otanes — ii. 488
Cynægirus, ſon of Euphorion, dies of his wounds in the battle of Marathon — — iii. 112
Cynetæ the moſt remote inhabitants in the weſt of Europe — — — — ii. 226
Cynics, whence ſo called — — ii. 430. n.
Cyno, wife of Mitridates, preſerves the life of Cyrus i. 119
Cynocephali have their eyes in their breaſts — ii. 347
Cynoſarges gave name to the ſect of the Cynics ii. 430, n.
— origin of its appellation — — ii. 430, n.
Cyprian verſes, not Homer's — — i. 350
Cyprians, their cuſtom reſpecting women — i. 202
— firſt conquered by Amaſis, king of Ægypt — i. 434
— ſubmit to the Perſians, and ſerve in the Ægyptian expedition — — — ii. 22
— occaſion of their revolt from the Medes — ii. 477
— a deciſive victory over them by the Perſians off Cyprus — — — — — ii. 483

Cyprians supply fifty vessels to Xerxes — — iii. 209
Cypselus, son of Eetion, his story — — ii. 464
Cyranis, the island, gold dust drawn from its lake ii. 353.
— — — — 365
Cyrene, presents sent to, by Amasis — — i. 432
— eminence of its physicians — — ii. 154
— whence its name — — ii. 319, n.
— Greeks settle there — — ii. 320
— few traces of it remaining — — ii. 364
— its limits not defined — — — ii. 366
Cyreneans repel Apries — — i. 415
— make an alliance with Amasis — — i. 431
— submit to Cambyses — — ii. 14
— their friendship with the Samians — ii. 315
— the Greeks settle among them — — ii. 320
— defeat the Ægyptians, and revolt from Apries ii. 320
— defeated by Arcesilaus — — ii. 321
— consult the oracle on their calamities — — ii. 322
— their form of government settled by Demonax ii. 322
— their women esteem it impious to touch a heifer ii. 343
— for eight months in the year, employed in reaping the produce of their lands — — ii. 357
Cyrsilus and his wife stoned to death by the Athenians iv. 4, n.
Cyrus, son of Cambyses, as soon as born, is delivered to Harpagus, by command of Astyages, to be destroyed i. 115
— is delivered by Harpagus to Mitridates, to be exposed — — — — i. 116
— is preserved by Mitridates — — i. 119
— discovered at ten years of age — — i. 120
— is sent by Astyages to his parents in Persia — i. 126
— is invited by Harpagus to seize on the dominions of Astyages — — — i. 128
— by a stratagem prevails on the Persians to revolt from the Medes — — — i. 129
— is said by Isocrates to have put Astyages to death i. 133, n.
— his increasing greatness excites the jealousy of Crœsus — — — — i. 45
— said to consult the prophet Daniel on his war with Crœsus — — — i. 80, n.

Cyrus, son of Cambyses, engages with Crœsus on the plains of Pteria — — — i. 81
— follows Crœsus to Sardis — — — i. 83
— his stratagem at Sardis — — — i. 83
— takes Sardis, and Crœsus captive — — i. 87
— condemns Crœsus to be burnt, i. 90; but relents, i. 92; and on the flames being extinguished by a storm of rain, orders him to be released — — i. 94
— rejects an offer of allegiance from the Ionians and Æolians — — — i. 145
— his reflection upon the Greeks — — i. 156
— commits the care of Sardis to Tabalus, and proceeds with Crœsus to Ecbatane — — i. 157
— consults with Crœsus on a revolt of the Lydians under Pactyas — — — i. 157
— sends Mazares to the Lydians, and prescribes to them certain observances, by which he effects a total change in their manners — — i. 159
— on the death of Mazares, appoints Harpagus to the command of his army in Ionia — — i. 163
— becomes master of the upper parts of Asia — i. 177
— wastes a summer in revenge on the river Gyndes i. 189
— his reduction of Gyndes ascribed to other motives i. 189, n.
— besieges Babylon, and takes it — — i. 190
— proceeds to conquer the Massagetæ — — i. 203
— by advice of Crœsus, accepts the proposal of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, and marches into her country — — — — i. 207
— appoints his son Cambyses his successor — i. 208
— is alarmed by a vision — — — i. 208
— defeats a part of the army of the Massagetæ by a stratagem, i. 210; but is himself defeated by the remainder of their forces, and slain — — i. 211
— different accounts of his death — i. 212, n.
— on his wife's death, commanded public marks of sorrow — — — — i. 215
— dissuaded the Persians from removing to a better country — — — — iv. 103

Cythnians — — — — iii. 370
Cytiſſorus, ſon of Phrixus, the anger of Jupiter Laphyſtius falls on his poſterity — — iii. 301
Cyzicus, its people remarkable for their cowardice ii. 193, n.
— Anacharſis touches at, in his paſſage over the Helleſpont — — — — — ii. 250

D.

Dacians, the Getæ ſo called — — ii. 265, n.
Dædalus, account of — — iii. 277, n.
Damia, a name of Ceres — — ii. 450, n.
Danaus — — — i. 329
— the Theſmophoria, in honour of Ceres, introduced among the Pelaſgi by his daughters — — i. 422
— his daughters erected the temple of Minerva at Lindus — — — — i. 434
Dances of the Mantinæans preferred for the quickneſs with which they moved their hands — iii. 22, n.
Dancing, the Athenians deemed thoſe impolite who refuſed to exerciſe themſelves in, when proper opportunities occurred — — — iii. 126, n.
— a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients iii. 126, n.
Danube, account of — — — ii. 225
— the river of Noah — — — ii. 225, n.
— inferior to the Nile — — ii. 227
Darics, coin ſo called — — ii. 326, n.
Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, endeavours to get poſſeſſion of a golden ſtatue in the temple of Jupiter at Babylon — — — — i. 182
— opens the tomb of Nitocris — — i. 187
— a viſion of Cyrus, intimating the ſucceſſion of Darius to his power — — — i. 208
— not permitted to place his own ſtatue before thoſe of Seſoſtris and his family — — i. 342
— joins in a conſpiracy againſt Smerdis, the pretended ſon of Cyrus — — — ii. 84
— is made king of Perſia — — ii. 105

Darius,

Darius, son of Hystaspes, his wives — — ii. 107
— divides Persia into provinces — — ii. 108
— annual tribute paid to him — — ii. 114
— his mode of depositing his riches — ii. 115
— puts Intaphernes and part of his family to death ii. 140
— dislocates his ancle — — — ii. 150
— is cured by Democedes, a slave of Orœtes, and rewards him — — — ii. 151
— sends Democedes with fifteen Persians to examine the sea-coast of Greece, ii. 157; who return without their conductor — — — ii. 159
— besieges and takes Samos — — ii. 161
— having formerly received a cloak from Syloson, ii. 161; in return gives him Samos, ii. 163; which he receives almost without an inhabitant — — ii. 168
— besieges Babylon, ii. 169; and, by a stratagem of Zopyrus, takes it — — ii. 176
— levels the walls of Babylon, and takes away its gates ii. 177
— rewards Zopyrus — — ii. 177
— undertakes an expedition against Scythia — ii. 179
— sends Scylax to ascertain where the Indus meets the ocean, ii. 219; who discovers a considerable part of Asia — — — — ii. 219
— advances from Susa, with his army, against Scythia ii. 258
— puts to death the three sons of Œbasus — ii. 258
— surveys the Euxine — — — ii. 259
— examines the Bosphorus, near which he orders two columns to be erected, inscribed with the names of the different nations, which followed him against Scythia — ii. 262
— rewards Mandrocles for erecting a bridge over the Bosphorus — — — ii. 263
— passes into Europe — — ii. 263
— erects a column near the river Tearus — ii. 264
— raises a pile of stones near the river Artiscus — ii. 265
— reduces the Thracians of Salmydessus, and several others, with the Getæ — — ii. 265
— passes the Ister — — — ii. 268
— by the advice of Coës, leaves the Ionians to guard the bridge erected by them over the Ister — ii. 270

Darius, son of Hystaspes, proceeds with his army, ii. 288; and arrives in Scythia — — ii. 290
— challenges the Scythians — — ii. 291
— the Scythians make several attacks on his army ii. 293
— receives a present from the Scythians, ii. 295; the meaning of which is explained by Gobryas — ii. 296
— his stratagem for effecting a safe return from the pursuit of the Scythians — — ii. 298
— arrives at the Ister, and finds the bridge broken down — — — — ii. 303
— with the assistance of Histiæus, passes the Ister, and escapes from the Scythians — — ii. 304
— passes into Asia — — — ii. 305
— leaves Megabyzus at the head of some troops in Europe, ii. 305; who reduces all who were in opposition to the Medes — — — ii. 306
— issues a coin of the purest gold — — ii. 326
— condemns Aryandes to death for issuing a coin of silver — — — — — ii. 326
— the Perinthians, and all Thrace, reduced under his power by Megabyzus — — ii. 369
— having crossed the Hellespont, goes to Sardis ii. 376
— rewards Histiæus and Coes — — ii. 376
— requires Megabyzus to remove the Pæonians from Europe to Asia, ii. 377; who accordingly invades them, and executes his orders — — ii. 380
— by advice of Megabyzus, diverts Histiæus from building a city in Thrace, and takes him with him to Susa, leaving his brother Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and Otanes commander of the sea coast — ii. 389
— sends forces against Naxos, ii. 395; who lay siege to it, but after four months return without success ii. 397
— Miletus revolts against him — — ii. 400
— Athenian ambassadors agree to send him earth and water, for which, on their return to Athens, they are severely reprehended — — ii. 443
— his conduct on being informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians — — ii. 478

Darius, son of Hystaspes, deluded by Histiæus, sends him into Ionia against Aristagoras — ii. 480
— Histiæus takes the command of the Ionian forces against him — — — iii. 2
— treats the Milesians with great humanity — iii. 17
— receives Scythes, the Zanclean prince — iii. 25
— humanity one of his most conspicuous qualities iii. 29, n.
— disaproves of the crucifixion of Histiæus the Milesian — — — — iii. 30
— his kindness to Metiochus, son of Miltiades — iii. 39
— sends Mardonius, husband of his daughter Artozostra, to Ionia, to supersede his other commanders — iii. 40
— orders the Thasians to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera — — iii. 43
— sends emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water, and orders the cities on the coast, who paid him tribute, to construct vessels of war and transports for cavalry — — iii. 44
— honourably receives Demaratus expelled from Sparta — — — — iii. 67
— his domestic regularly bids him remember the Athenians — — — — iii. 90
— appoints two of his officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athens — — iii. 91
— signification of his name — — iii. 94
— treated his captives with lenity — — iii. 98, n.
— shews no further resentment to the captive Eretrians brought to Susa by Datis and Artaphernes, but appoints them a residence — — iii. 116
— after the battle of Marathon, is more inclined to invade Greece; and on the revolt of the Ægyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyses, prepares against both nations — — — iii. 135
— a violent dispute amongst his sons concerning the succession to the throne — — iii. 136
— declares Xerxes his successor, and dies — iii. 139
— genealogy of his family — — iii. 153, n.

Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, married Artaynta the daughter of Maſiſtes — — — iv. 93
— not the ſame with Ahaſuerus — — iv. 93, n.
Datis, together with Artaphernes, commanded by Darius to ſubdue Eretria and Athens — — iii. 91
— goes to Delos and reſtores a golden image of Apollo — — — — iii. 116
— with Artaphernes carries the captive Eretrians to Suſa — — — — iii. 116
Datiſm, a Greek barbariſm — — iii. 91, n.
Dauriſes, with other Perſian generals, attacks the Ionians concerned in the expedition againſt Sardis — ii. 484
— turns his arms againſt the cities of the Helleſpont ii. 484
— ſlain by the Carians in an ambuſcade — ii. 487
Day, its diviſion into twelve parts, received by the Greeks from the Babylonians — — i. 341
— journey of a — — — ii. 273
— and night, ænigma on — — iii. 17, n.
Dead, their bodies eaten by the Maſſagetæ — i. 213
— time of mourning for, in Ægypt — i. 318, n.
— their bodies why embalmed by the Ægyptians ii. 20
— commemorated by the Greeks on the anniverſaries of their deaths — — — ii. 201, n.
— honours paid by the Spartans to their deceaſed princes — — — — iii. 54
— to bring off their bodies in battle, conſidered by the ancients as a high point of honour — iv. 21, n.
— ſentiments of the ancients with reſpect to their bodies remaining unburied — — iv. 26, n.
— to inflict vengeance on, deemed infamous by Pauſanias, — — — — iv. 70
— See *Funerals*.
Death never inflicted by the Perſians for a ſingle offence i. 141
— of aged perſons accelerated — — i. 213, n.
— never made a puniſhment during the reign of Sabacus in Ægypt — — — i. 383
— voluntary, of one or more perſons, ſuppoſed by the ancients to ſecure a nation, or preſerve the life of an individual — — — — iii. 240, n.

Debt,

Debt, to be in, difgraceful among the Perfians — i. 141
Debts fecured by pledging the body of a father in the reign of Afychis king of Ægypt — — i. 382
— remitted on the death of a Lacedæmonian and a Perfian king — — — iii. 56
Deceleans, why exempted from taxes in Sparta — iv. 65
Deioces reputed for his wifdom — — i. 104
— chofen king of the Medes — — i. 106
— the firft who forbade accefs to the royal perfon — i. 107
— his mode of adminiftering juftice — — i. 108
— fucceeded by his fon Phraortes — — i. 109
Delos purified by Pififtratus — — i. 64
— certain facred offerings of the Hyperboreans received there — — — ii. 209
— rites celebrated by the Delians in honour of Hyperborean virgins — — — ii. 210
— its inhabitants fly to Tenos on the approach of Datis with the Perfian fleet — — iii. 92
— the ifland affected by a tremulous motion on the departure of Datis — — — iii. 93
— a golden image of Apollo reftored by Datis to the temple — — — iii. 116
Delphi, Midas and Gyges fend prefents to — i. 18
— the name among the fubjects of controverfy between Boyle and Bentley — — i. 18, n.
— Alyattes' offering at — — — i. 26
— oracle of Apollo at — — — i. 45, n.
— anfwer of the oracle to Crœfus, i. 48; who offers a magnificent facrifice to it, i. 49; and fends thither valuable prefents — — i. 50
— again confulted by Crœfus, i. 52; and a third time i. 53
— the oracle reproached by Crœfus — — i. 96
— the temple confumed by fire — — i. 431
— the temple conftructed by the Alcmæonidæ — ii. 428
— the oracle bribed by Lycurgus — — iii. 62, n.
— a ftatue erected there by the Greeks after the battle of Salamis — — — iii. 437
— offering of the Æginetæ on the fame occafion iii. 437

Delphi always written Delphos by Swift — iv. 107, n.
— the riches of the temple met with a fate ſimilar to thoſe of Thomas a Becket's ſhrine at Canterbury iv. 164
Delphians aſſign to Crœſus and the Lydians the privilege of firſt conſulting the oracle — — i. 53
— why they ſupplicate the winds — — iii. 286
— on the approach of Xerxes' army, are inſtructed by the oracle not to remove their treaſures, but remove their wives and children into Achaia; and themſelves, except ſixty men, entirely deſert the city — iii. 361
Deluge, the, various opinions of its univerſality — i. 227, n.
— the ceremony in the ancient myſteries of carrying about a kind of ſhip or boat, related to it — i. 328, n.
Demaratus, ſon of Ariſton, and a prince of Sparta, circulates a report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, iii. 45; who, on his return from Ægina, endeavours to degrade his rival — — — iii. 56
— his birth — — — iii. 58
— the circumſtance to which he owed his name — iii. 60
— ſucceeds his father — — iii. 60
— his illegitimacy aſſerted by Cleomenes and Leotychides, and by colluſion pronounced by the oracle of Delphi — — — — — iii. 61
— loſes his dignity — — iii. 63
— inſulted by Leotychides, who had been elected king in his room — — — iii. 63
— conjures his mother to diſcover his true father, iii. 64; who informs him, he is either the ſon of the hero Aſtrobacus, or of Ariſton — — iii. 66
— is purſued and ſeized by the Lacedæmonians; but by the interference of the Zacynthians is ſuffered to paſs over to Aſia, where he is honourably received by Darius — — — — iii. 67
— alone of all the kings of Sparta obtained the prize in the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horſes — — — — iii. 67
— deprived of the crown of Sparta, flies from Lacedæmon, and arrives at Suſa — — — iii. 138

Demaratus, ſon of Ariſton, his converſation with Xerxes, on the probability of his ſucceſs in the Grecian war iii. 216
— his advice to Xerxes on the conduct of the Grecian war, after the battle at Thermopylæ — iii. 333
— his extraordinary mode of informing the Lacedæmonians with the intentions of Xerxes againſt Greece iii. 336
Democedes, the ſon of Calliphon, the moſt ſkilful phyſician of his time — — — — ii. 146
— reſtores to Darius the uſe of his foot, and is rewarded by him — — — ii. 151
— account of — — — ii. 153
— cures Atoſſa, wife of Darius, of an ulcer — ii. 155
— procures himſelf to be ſent by Darius, with fifteen Perſians, to examine the ſea-coaſt of Greece ii. 157
— arriving at Crotona, the people refuſe to deliver him up to the Perſians, who return back to Darius deprived of their conductor — — ii. 159
Democracy, arguments in favour of — — ii. 96
Demonax divides the Cyreneans into tribes — ii. 322
Deſart, a vaſt ſandy one in Africa — — ii. 338
Devotion, veiling the head a part of the ceremony of, among the Romans — — — iv. 154
Dials of the ancients — — — i. 341, n.
Diana, the Epheſians dedicate their city to — i. 27
— her oracle in Ægypt — — i. 313
— by the Ægyptians called Bubaſtis — i. 410
— the daughter of Ceres, according to Æſchylus i. 410
— 300 Corcyrean children protected in her temple at Samos — — — — ii. 57
— called Dictynna and Britomartis — ii. 68, n.
— worſhipped in Thrace — — ii. 373
— her feaſt near Brauron — — iii. 132
Diana, Orthoſian, young men of Lacedæmon permitted themſelves to be flagellated at her altar — ii. 262, n.
Diana, Regal, barley-ſtraw uſed in ſacrifice to — ii. 210
Dicæus, from a prodigy, infers the defeat of Xerxes' army — — — — iii. 384
Dice, game at, invented by the Lydians — i. 102

Dice,

Dice, Rhampsinitus plays at, with Ceres — i. 359
Dictyes, animals in Africa — — ii. 351
Dictynna, a name of Diana — — ii. 68, n.
Didymus, temple at — — — iii. 16
Dieneces, the Spartan, distinguishes himself in an engagement with the Persians at Thermopylæ — iii. 324
— his speech before it — — iii. 324
Dionysius, the Phocæan leader, his speech to the Ionians at Lade — — — iii. 8
— after the defeat of the Ionians by the Phœnicians, retreats to Phœnicia, thence sails to Sicily, and there exercises a piratical life — — iii. 15
Dioscuri not among the Ægyptian gods — i. 268
Dioscurus, pun on — — — iv. 161
Diphteræ, books so called by the Ionians — ii. 425
Dipodes, a species of African mice — — ii. 352
Disease, the female, the Scythians afflicted with, for plundering the temple of Venus — — i. 112
Disease, sacred, Cambyses laboured under from his birth — — — — ii. 40
Dithyrambic measure — — i. 24, n.
Divers, remarkable — — iii. 342, n.
Divination, in Ægypt, confined to certain deities — i. 313
— how practised by the Scythians — ii. 240
— various modes of it — — ii. 241, n.
— three diviners sent for, on the indisposition of the Scythian monarch — — — ii. 242
— Scythian mode of punishing false diviners — ii. 242
— mode of, practised by the Nasamones — ii. 332
— inventors of various kinds — — iii. 79, n.
— diviners sold their knowledge at a very high price, — — — — iv. 33, n.
— mode of, by inspecting the entrails — iv. 56, n.
— its antiquity — — — iv. 144
Dodona, oracle of — — — i. 45, n.
— the most ancient of Greece — — i. 279
— its origin, according to the assertion of its priestesses, — — — — i. 281

Dogs, Indian, an immenſe number ſupported by four towns in Babylonia — — — i. 192
— Indian, celebrated among the ancients — i. 192, n.
— their death lamented by the Ægyptians — i. 292
— why not ſuffered to enter the precincts of the temple of Jeruſalem — — — i. 292, n.
— now conſidered in the eaſt as defiling — i. 293, n.
— the females buried by the Ægyptians — i. 293
— men with the heads of — ii. 347. 348, n.
Dolonci, Thracian, elect Miltiades the ſon of Cypſelus their prince — — — iii. 35
— reſtore their prince Miltiades, the ſon of Cimon iii. 39
Door of an houſe, ſitting before it, uſual in the Eaſt, iii. 34, n.
Dorians, thoſe ſituate in Aſia ſubdued by Crœſus — i. 9
— origin of — — — i. 55
— deſcent of their princes — — iii. 48
Dorieus, ſon of Cleomenes, his birth — ii. 403
— leaves Sparta, and founds a colony — ii. 404
— is expelled from thence — — ii. 405
— is adviſed by Antichares to found Heraclea in Sicily, — — — — ii. 405
— conſults the oracle at Delphi, and on a favourable reply ſails to Italy — — — ii. 406
— loſt his life in acting contrary to the expreſs commands of the oracle — — — ii. 408
Doriſcus, the Perſian army marſhalled there, and numbered by Xerxes — — — iii. 192
Dragon, in the Old Teſtament, generally ſignifies a crocodile — — — i. 295, n.
Dreams, the Atlantes ſaid never to have — ii. 342
— notion of the ancients concerning a diſtinct one, ii. 420, n.
— to dream of lying with one's mother conſidered as fortunate — — — iii. 105, n.
— Mr. Locke's words on — — iii. 157, n.
Dreſs, variety of faſhions in — ii. 117, n.
Drinking, to make parties for, eſteemed highly meritorious among the Caunians — — i. 172
— alternately from each other's hands, the ceremony uſed by the Naſamones in pledging their word — ii. 332

Drinking, the only ceremony in the marriages of the Algerines — — — ii. 332, n.
— intemperate, characteristic of the Scythians and Thracians — — — iii. 80, n.
— intemperate, its effect well described by Prior iii. 81, n.
— the Greeks never drank till they had done eating, — — — — iii. 125, n.
Dupin, his ridiculous translation of a passage in Pliny, — — — — ii. 131, n.
Dutch, their offer to make the Tagus navigable as far as Lisbon, why rejected by the Spaniards — i. 175, n.
Dyras, the river, said to have risen spontaneously in aid of Hercules when burning — — iii. 302

E.

Earth, the, adored by the Persians — i. 135
— divided by the Greeks into three parts — i. 234
— the notion of its circumference ridiculed by Herodotus, — — — — ii. 213
— worshipped by the Scythians — — ii. 232
Earth and Water, bringing to an enemy, in the East, an acknowledgment of his superiority — ii. 291
— required by Megabyzus of Amyntas — ii. 381
— demanded by Darius from different parts of Greece, — — — — iii. 44
— demanded in Greece by the heralds of Xerxes iii. 170
Earthquake, at Delos — — iii. 93
Earthquakes, ascribed to Neptune — iii. 236
Ecbatana, in Media, built — — i. 106
Ecbatana, in Syria, Cambyses mortally wounded at, ii. 76
Echidna, Spenser's description of — iv. 140
Eclipse at an engagement between the Lydians and the Medes, foretold by Thales — — i. 77
— during an engagement between Cyaxares and the Lydians — — — i. 110
— during the march of Xerxes' army against Greece, — — — — iii. 175

Eclipse, effect of one on Cleombrotus — iv. 9
— in early ages deemed an inauspicious omen — iv. 9, n.
Edifice built by Rhampsinitus to contain his riches i. 354
— of one entire stone, brought by 2000 men in three years from Elephantine to Saïs — — i. 427
— a subterranean one, built by Zamolxis — ii. 267
Eel venerated by the Ægyptians, i. 300; and why i. 300, n.
Effeminacy the product of luxurious countries — iv. 103
Eleans send ambassadors to Ægypt, to consult on the Olympic games — — — i. 413
— possess no mules, which they think the effect of some curse — — — ii. 205
— the Agonothetæ removed from Elis by Leocedes iii. 124
— banish their commanders after the battle of Platæa iv. 69
Electricity, the term derived from the Greek word for amber, — — — — ii. 136, n.
Elephants, 20 of their teeth a tribute from the Æthiopians and Calantian Indians to the king of Persia every three years — — — ii. 116
Eleusis taken by Cleomenes — — ii. 443
— temple of Ceres and Proserpine at — iii. 73, n.
— the mysteries an inexhaustible source of riches to, — — — — iii. 405, n.
— the bodies of the Argives, who under Polynices fought against Thebes, buried there — iv. 27
Elis never produces mules — — ii. 205
— mares of the Eleans covered by asses out of its limits, — — — — ii. 206
Embalming, remarks on, from different writers — i. 315, n.
— Ægyptian modes of — — i. 316
— rules concerning — — — i. 319
— why practised — — — ii. 20
Emmelia, a Greek tune — — iii. 126
Enareæ, Scythians so called, are punished with the female disease — — — i. 113
— practise divination — — ii. 241
Eneti, or Veneti, famous for horses — ii. 375, n.
— famous for mules — — — iv. 117

Engraving

Engraving of the figures of animals on ſtone firſt practiſed by the Ægyptians — — i. 219
Envied, better to be, than pitied — ii. 61
Epaphus, bulls eſteemed ſacred to, by the Ægyptians i. 262
Epheſians dedicate their city to Diana — i. 27
— excluded from the Apaturian feſtival for murder i. 152
— put certain Chians to death for entering the city during the celebration of the myſteries of Ceres — iii. 14
Epheſus, temple of — — i. 398. iv. 130
— its diſtance from Sardis — — ii. 419
Ephialtes diſcovers to the Perſians a path over the mountain to Thermopylæ — — iii. 313
— put to death by Athenades — — iii. 313
Ephori inſtituted by Lycurgus — — i. 66
— in ſome reſpect ſuperior in dignity to kings iii. 53, n.
— their particular office to watch the Spartan kings — — — — iii. 78, n.
— the principal one called Euponymus — iv. 5, n.
Epidaurians afflicted by a famine, conſult the Delphic oracle, and procure fertility to their lands — ii. 450
— their dances — — — ii. 452
Epidaurus taken by Periander — — ii. 61
Epigenes, of Sicyon, invented tragedy — ii. 436, n.
Epigonoi, verſes ſuppoſed to be written by Homer — ii. 208
Epiſtles, diſtinction at preſent obſerved in the Eaſt in rolling and ſealing them — — ii. 150, n.
— methods of conveying — ii. 398. iii. 335. 440
— one engraved on rocks by Themiſtocles — iii. 352
Epizelus ſtruck with blindneſs at the battle of Marathon — — — — iii. 115
Erectheus, king of Athens, deified — ii. 451
— his temple — — — iii. 376
— why deified — — — iii. 376, n.
Eretrians, Darius commands Datis and Artaphernes to ſubdue Eretria and Athens — iii. 91
— leads his army againſt Eretria — iii. 93
— are aſſiſted by the Athenians, but not acting with firmneſs are deſerted by them — — iii. 95

Eretrians, their city betrayed to the Perſians by two of the more eminent citizens; their temples pillaged and burnt, and themſelves made ſlaves — iii. 97
— the captives carried by Datis and Artaphernes to Suſa, are placed by Darius at Ardericca — iii. 116
Eridanus, the river, amber ſaid to come from — ii. 134
Erythræans, at war with the Chians — — i. 21
— ſpeak the ſame language as the Chians — i. 146
Eryx, his conteſt with Hercules — ii. 405, n.
Eryxo, the wife of Arceſilaus, revenges his death ii. 321
Etearchus, king, his cruelty to his daughter Phronima — — — — ii. 315
Ethelwold, ſervility of his ſon — — i. 124, n.
Etruſcans, taught the Romans their games and combats, — — — — i. 103, n.
Evagoras, of Sparta, his mares — — iii. 99
Eubœa, an iſland large and fertile — ii. 394
— its rocks — — — iii. 95
Eubœans, their treatment by Gelon — iii. 264
Euelthon, governor of Salamis, his preſent to Pheretime, on her requeſt of an army — — ii. 323
Euenius loſes his eyes for ſleeping on his duty, but is recompenſed — — — iv. 82
Eueſperitæ, their country remarkably fertile — ii. 357
Eunuchs employed as the royal meſſengers — ii. 92
— eſteemed by the Perſians of greater value than other ſlaves — — — iii. 424
— black eunuchs preferred in the Eaſt — iii. 424, n.
Euphorion entertained at his houſe Caſtor and Pollux, iii. 124
Euphrates divides Babylon into two parts — i. 179
— its waters drained by Cyrus — — i. 190
— fertilizes the lands of the Aſſyrians — i. 192
— is only paſſable in veſſels — — ii. 417
Euripus, Ariſtotle reported to have deſtroyed himſelf there, — — — — ii. 445, n.
Europa carried away by the Cretans — i. 4.
— her ſons — — — i. 172
Europa an Aſiatic, and never ſaw Europe — ii. 222

Europe, tin and amber brought from, to Greece — ii. 136
— a prodigious quantity of gold in the north of Europe — — — — ii. 136
— some account of — — ii. 215. 220
— its most remote inhabitants — — ii. 226
Eurybates of Argos, killed in a single combat iii. 90. iv. 66
Eurybiades, son of Euryclidas, commands the Grecian fleet at Salamis — — — iii. 367
— is prevailed on by Themistocles to stay and fight at Salamis — — — iii. 383
— honoured by the Lacædemonians — iii. 438
Euryleon, takes possession of Minoas, and delivers it from the oppression of Pythagoras — — ii. 408
— is slain by the Selinusians before the altar of Jupiter Forensis — — — ii. 409
Eurymachus, son of Leontiades, slain at Platæa — iii. 327
Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus — — ii. 308
— how discovered by the Lacedæmonians to be the eldest son of Aristodemus — — iii. 47
— at variance with his brother through life — iii. 48
Eurytus dies fighting valiantly — — iii. 325
Euxine sea, of all seas most deserves admiration — ii. 259
— its length and breadth — — ii. 259
Expiation, ceremonies of, nearly the same among the Lydians and Greeks — — — i. 37
— a full account of its ceremonies given by Apollonius Rhodius — — — i. 37, n.

F.

Family, reply of Iphicrates on being reproached with the meanness of his — — ii. 421, n.
Famine, resource against, practised by the Lydians — i. 102
— the army of Cambyses suffer by — ii. 31
— dreadful effects of, at the siege of Jerusalem ii. 31, n.
— among the troops of Xerxes — — iii. 433

Famine

Famine among Artayctes and his people during the siege of Sestos — — — iv. 100
Fan, mystical, why carried before the image of Bacchus — — — — iii. 385, n.
Fates, the greater and the less — — i. 96, n.
Father, in certain arts in Ægypt and Indostan, the son obliged to follow his profession — i. 419, n.
— his profession followed by the son, among the Lacedæmonians — — — iii. 56
Faults, on due examination, no man would exchange his own for those of another — — iii. 258
Feathers are continually falling in the northern parts of Scythia — — ii. 186. 207
Feet of vanquished enemies, cut off — ii. 238, n.
Festival, Apaturian — — — i. 152
— of Apis, suppressed by Cambyses — ii. 36
— of Bacchus in Ægypt — — i. 273
— of Bacchus amongst the Budini — ii. 278
— of Bacchus at Nyssa — — ii. 115
— of Busiris — — — i. 283
— Carnian, in honour of Apollo — iii. 307
— of Cybele at Cyzicus — — ii. 250
— of Diana at Bubastos — — i. 283
— Hyacinthia — — — iv. 5
— Hybristica — — — iii. 75, n.
— of Isis in Ægypt — — — i. 264
— of Juno — — — i. 32
— of Lamps in Ægypt — — i. 286
— of Latona at Butos — — i. 284
— Magophonia — — — ii. 95
— of Mars at Papremis — — i. 284
— of Minerva at Saïs — — i. 283
— of Minerva, among the Machlyes and Ausenses, in Africa — — — ii. 337
— of the Sun at Heliopolis — — i. 283
— Theophanian at Delphi — — i. 50
— of Vulcan, among the Greeks — iii. 417

Festivals, first introduced by the Ægyptians — i. 283
— none in Ægypt without illuminations — i. 286, n.
— an ancient distinction at — — iii. 51, n.
Figs, unknown to the Persians — — i. 74
Fire, the ancient Persians dared not to extinguish it with water — — — i. 135, n.
— venerated by the Persians — — ii. 19
— extinguished throughout Persia on the death of the sovereign — — — ii. 19, n.
— the magi worshipped God only by it — ii. 93, n.
— applied by the Africans to the veins of the top of the scull or of the temples of their children, at the age of four years, and why — — ii. 344
— applied by the Scythians to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs — — — ii. 344, n.
— the appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed by the ancients an auspicious omen — iii. 79, n.
— intelligence conveyed by fires — iv. 3, n.
Firmament, adored by the Persians under the appellation of Jove — — — i. 135
Fish, the only food of three tribes of the Babylonians i. 202
— the Ægyptian priests not permitted to feed on i. 261
— the lepitodus and the eel venerated by the Ægyptians — — — — i. 300
— principal food of the Ægyptians — i. 307. 325
— their mode of propagation in Ægypt — i. 325
— the principal food of horses and cattle at the Prasian lake — — — ii. 381
— prodigy of the quick motion of salt fish while broiling — — — — iv. 101
Fishery in the lake Mœris — — i. 401
Flagellation, a custom of the Ægyptians — i. 264. 285
— at the altar of the Orthosian Diana — ii. 262, n.
Flesh, eaten raw by the Indians called Padæi, ii. 118; and by the Abyssinians — — ii. 118, n.
Flutes, masculine and feminine — — i. 21
Fortune, her inconstancy admirably described by Horace — — — — ii. 48, n.

Forum,

Forum, times of the — — ii. 124, n.
Fountain, remarkable one in Æthiopia — ii. 27
— bitter, in Scythia — — ii. 228. 256
— of Apollo in Africa — — ii. 319
— of Theftis at Irafa — — ii. 320
— of the Sun — — — ii. 339
— nine fountains near Athens — — iii. 131
— of the Mæander and Catarracte — iii. 165
— Caftalia — — — iii. 359, n.
— of Gargaphie — — iv. 23
Frankincenfe — — — ii. 127, n.
— how collected by the Arabians — ii 128
Friend, the life of one preferred to thofe of a wife and children — — — ii. 140, n.
Frog, the fymbol of the people of Argos — iii. 397, n.
Fuel, refources in the eaftern countries, where there is a fcarcity of it — — ii. 233, n.
Funerals, Perfian — — i. 143. ii. 19
— Ægyptian — — i. 314. ii. 19
— interment common in Greece — ii. 19, n.
— the cuftom of interment preceded that of burning, ii. 20
— when burning ceafed at Rome — ii. 20, n.
— Æthiopian — — — ii. 28
— public one at Athens — — ii. 65, n.
— of Alexander the Great — — ii. 65, n.
— of the Scythian kings — — ii. 243
— of the Scythians in general — — ii. 246
— of the Greek and African Nomades — ii. 346
— the Nafamones bury in a fitting pofture — ii. 346
— of the Traufi, ii. 370; and of other Thracians ii. 373
— in the Eaft fimilar to thofe of the Jews — ii. 373, n.
— origin of funeral games unknown — ii. 374, n.
— of the Lacedæmonian kings — iii. 55
— lamentations at, ftill prevail in Ægypt and various parts of the Eaft — — iii. 55, n.
— dancing, a part of the ceremony among the ancients — — — — iii. 126, n.
— of the Greeks flain at Platæa — — iv. 75

Funerals, ſhrill pipe uſed at — — iv. 198
— ancient cuſtom of hiring people to lament at iv. 119
Furies, particulars concerning them — ii. 311, n.
Furs, no where mentioned in ſcripture — ii. 279, n.

G.

Galles, a wandering nation of Africans, their cuſtom with reſpect to their wives and children, in caſe of war — — — — ii. 338, n.
Games, public, in honour of Perſeus — — i. 321
— funeral — — — ii. 374, n.
— Olympic.—See *Olympic Games*.
— Pythian — — — iii. 372
Garamantes, a people who avoid communication with men — — — — iii. 333
Gargaphie, the fountain of — — iv. 23
— its water ſtopped up by the Perſians — iv. 46
Garlands, worn at feaſts, and given by one friend to another — — — iii. 65, n.
Gate, the king's, an honourable ſituation in Perſia, ii. 141, n.
Geeſe, ſacrificed by the Ægyptians — i. 271
Gela, the city, ſome account of — iii. 24, n. 260, n.
Gelimer, king of the Vandals, ſtrange effect of grief in — — — — ii. 15, n.
Gelon, ſon of Dinomenis — — iii. 251
— his power conſiderable — — iii. 252
— diſtinguiſhes himſelf in ſeveral wars — iii. 262
— obtains the ſupreme authority of Gela, and poſſeſſion of Syracuſe — — — iii. 263
— his treatment of the people of Megara and Eubœa — — — — iii. 264
— addreſs to him from the Grecian ambaſſadors iii. 265
— offers the Greeks aſſiſtance on certain terms, which they reject — — — iii. 265
— ſends Cadmus to Delphi with three veſſels and a large ſum of money — — iii. 270

Gelon, ſon of Dinomenis, conquers Amilcar — iii. 273
— ſaid to have deſtroyed Amilcar by a ſtratagem iii. 273, n.
Geometry, origin of — — i. 339
Gephyreans, their origin — — ii. 422
— compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens ii. 426
— bridges took their Greek name from — ii. 426, n.
Germans, erroneouſly ſuppoſed to have been deſcended from the Germanians in Perſia — — i. 130, n.
Gerrhus, the river, its courſe — — ii. 230
Geryon, ſaid to have three heads and three bodies ii. 186, n.
Getæ, reduced by Darius — — ii. 265
— believe themſelves immortal — — ii. 265
— believe in no other god than Zamolxis — ii. 267
— follow the army of Darius — — ii. 268
— ſaid to be the ſame with the Scythians and Goths iv. 146
Geſtation, human, ten months the period of it, generally ſpoken of by the ancients — iii. 58, n.
Giants, traditions of in every country — i. 70, n.
Gibbon, Mr. his ſenſible reflection on the ſubject of prodigies — — — iii. 27, n.
Gibraltar, the ſtraits of, ſailed through by Phœnicians, in the ſervice of Necho, king of Ægypt — ii. 216, n.
Gillus, Darius endeavours, but without effect, to reſtore him to Tarentum — — — ii. 160
Gindanes, peculiar cuſtom of their wives — ii. 334
— lived on the lotus — — ii. 364
Glaris, extraordinary victory obtained by its people over the Auſtrians — — — iv. 73, n.
Glaſs, the want of, anciently ſupplied by tranſparent ſtones — — — — i. 269, n.
— in Æthiopia ſupplied by cryſtal — ii. 29, n.
Glaucus, of Chios, the inventor of inlaying iron — i. 27
Glaucus, ſon of Epicydes, ſtory of him and a Mileſian iii. 83
— his ſtory as related by Juvenal — iii. 85. n. iv. 154
Glaucus, ſon of Hippolochus — — i. 152
Gliſas, anciently famous for its wine — iv. 40, n.
Gnats, remedy in Ægypt againſt — — i. 327
— great numbers infeſt Myus — — ii. 400, n.

Gnomon, received by the Greeks from the Babylonians, i. 340
Goats, never ſacrificed by the Mendeſians, out of reverence to Pan — — — i. 271
— in the Ægyptian language the ſame name for Pan and for a goat — — — i. 272
— in Ægypt a goat had public communication with a woman — — — i. 272
— their urine uſed by the Africans againſt convulſions ii. 344
— recommended in an aſthmatic complaint — ii. 345, n.
— their blood formerly eſteemed of benefit in pleuriſies — — — — ii. 345, n.
— the Athenians determine to ſacriſice five hundred yearly to Diana — — — iii. 111
Gobryas, one of the ſeven conſpirators againſt the magi ii. 84
— ſeizes one of the magi — — ii. 92
— interprets to Darius the meaning of a preſent ſent to him by the Scythians — — ii. 296
— recommends to Darius a ſtratagem to deceive the Scythians — — — ii. 298
God, memorable ſaying of Simonides of Ceos concerning — — — — ii. 476, n.
Gods, ſuppoſed by the ancients to abandon a city on the point of being taken — — i. 27, n.
— inconſiſtent behaviour of their worſhippers to them — — — — i. 97, n.
— of the Perſians — — i. 135
— of all polytheiſts, no better than the elves or fairies of our anceſtors — — — i. 172, n.
— names of the twelve, invented by the Ægyptians, and borrowed from them by the Greeks — i. 218
— altar of the twelve, at Athens — — i. 222
— almoſt all their names borrowed by Greece from Ægypt — — — — i. 276
— names of thoſe not familiar in Ægypt — i. 276
— worſhipped by the Pelaſgians without any name i. 278
— the Ægyptians firſt imagined what month or day was to be conſecrated to each deity — i. 312
— aſſerted by the Ægyptians not to have appeared in a human form for 11,340 years — i. 389

Gods formerly reigned in Ægypt — — i. 392
— what meant by their nativity, marriage, and tombs — — — — i. 395, n.
— of the Arabians — — ii. 10
— of the Scythians — — ii. 232
— of the Africans — — ii. 345
— of the Thracians — — ii. 373
Gold, its proportion to ſilver in the time of Herodotus i. 18, n.
— much uſed by the Maſſagetæ — i. 212
— its proportion to ſilver varied at different times ii. 114, n.
— in the gold coin of the ancients one fiftieth part is ſuppoſed to have been alloy — ii. 114, n.
— in India caſt up by ants — — ii. 120
— in the north of Europe — — ii. 136
— the Spartans not allowed to have any — ii. 167, n.
— the ſacred gold of the Scythians — ii. 185
— traffic for, between the Carthaginians and a people beyond the columns of Hercules — ii. 355
— ſaid by Lucretius to have been held in no eſtimation — — — — ii. 413, n.
— Crœſus gives Alcmæon as much as he can carry iii. 121
— great quantities found in the tents of the Perſians after the battle of Platæa — — iv. 72
Gold duſt deſcends from mount Tmolus — i. 100. ii. 475
— how procured in Cyranis in Africa — ii. 353
Golden, a water in Perſia ſo called, drank by none except the king and his eldeſt ſon — — iv. 116
Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, remarkable for her virtue — — ii. 410, n.
— her wiſe ſaying to her father — — ii. 416
— explains the ſecret meſſage of Demaratus to the Lacedæmonians — — iii. 336
Gorgon's head, Perſeus viſits Ægypt for the purpoſe of carrying it from Africa — — i. 322
Gorgus, ſon of Cherſis, deprived of his city by his brother, takes refuge among the Medes — ii. 477
— Salamis reſtored to him — — ii. 484
— an officer in Xerxes' fleet — — iii. 213

Goths, their mythology — — ii. 239, n.
— supposed the same with the Scythians and Getæ iv. 146
Government, at first theocratic, then monarchic and democratic — — — i. 392, n.
— arguments in favour of a republican, ii. 96; of an oligarchy, ii. 98; of a monarchy — ii. 100
— the Lacedæmonian — — ii. 102, n.
— of Great Britain — — ii. 102, n.
— the sixth book of Polybius opens with a dissertation on the different forms of — — ii. 102, n.
— an equal form of, the best — — ii. 447
Grass, presented to a conqueror by the ancient nations of the West, to shew that they confessed themselves overcome — — — ii. 291, n.
Grasshoppers, why worn by the Athenians in their hair — — — — iii. 269, n.
Greece, formerly discriminated only by the names of its different inhabitants — — i. 3, n.
— distinguished for its temperate seasons — ii. 125
Greeks, more tenacious of their national dignity than the Romans — — — i. 1, n.
— universally free before Crœsus — i. 9
— their profuse sacrifices — — i. 49, n.
— Crœsus endeavours to obtain the alliance of their most powerful states — — — i. 54
— distinguished by their acuteness; and the Athenians most sagacious — — — i. 59
— their manners and customs not essentially different from those of the Lydians — — i. 101
— did not worship images before the time of Cecrops — — — — i. 134, n.
— believe that the gods partake of human nature i. 134
— said by the Persians not to leave their tables satisfied i. 137
— a passion for boys learned from them — i. 139
— write and reckon with counters from the left to the right — — — i. 259
— the name of Hercules communicated to them by the Ægyptians — — — i. 268

Greeks visit Ægypt to obtain knowledge — i. 275, n.
— received the names of almost all the gods from Ægypt i. 276
— their theogony ascribed to Hesiod and Homer — i. 279
— their religious ceremonies derived from the Ægyptians — — — — i. 283
— do not connect themselves with women in their temples — — — — i. 288
— surpassed by the Ægyptians in the reverence they pay to age — — — i. 310
— call Orus Apollo — — i. 393
— considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus i. 393, n. — — — — i. 394
— consider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngest of their deities — — i. 394
— their tradition of Bacchus — — i. 395
— Ægyptian children entrusted with the Ionians and Carians to be instructed in the Greek language — i. 407
— certain of the Greeks settle at Naucratis in Ægypt i. 430
— their anniversary rites in memory of the dead ii. 201
— Olen, their first poet — — ii. 211, n.
— not suffered by the Africans to see Irasa — ii. 319
— borrowed from the Africans the vest and ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva — ii. 345
— observe the same ceremonies with the African Nomades in the interment of the dead — ii. 346
— various articles of science introduced amongst, by the Phœnicians — — — ii. 423
— the fleet sent by the Athenians to assist the Ionians, the source of calamities to the Greeks and Barbarians — — — — ii. 472
— Darius sends emissaries to different parts of Greece, to demand earth and water — — iii. 44
— suffered greater evils during the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, than in all the preceding generations — — — — iii. 94
— weights and measures first introduced amongst, by Pythagoras — — — iii. 124, n.
— why they called every atrocious crime Lemnian iii. 133

Greeks, Xerxes determines on an expedition againſt iii. 142
— their mode of diſpoſing their army — iii. 147, n.
— Xerxes demands earth and water of them — iii. 170
— poor but virtuous — — iii. 217
— reſolution of thoſe who determined to reſiſt Xerxes againſt thoſe who ſubmitted to him without neceſſity iii. 238
— refuſed, with a few exceptions, to adore the Perſian kings — — — — iii. 243, n.
— previous to an engagement with Xerxes, determine to ſuppreſs all private reſentments — iii. 251
— ſend three ſpies to Sardis — — iii. 252
— the aſſociates againſt Xerxes apply a ſecond time to the Argives for aſſiſtance, who evade giving them any iii. 254
— ſend ambaſſadors to form a treaty with Gelon iii. 259
— addreſs of their ambaſſadors to Gelon — iii. 265
— are promiſed aſſiſtance by the Corcyræans, who never fulfil their engagements — — iii. 274
— are refuſed aſſiſtance by the Cretans — iii. 275
— ſend forces to defend the Olympic ſtraits, but are perſuaded by Alexander to withdraw them, in conſequence of which they are forſaken by the Theſſalians iii. 281
— reſolve to defend the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, iii. 282; and there receive Xerxes, their fleet being ſtationed at Artemiſium — — — iii. 285
— three of their veſſels taken by Xerxes at Sciathus iii. 286
— a ſecond time fix their ſtation at Artemiſium iii. 297
— take fifteen of the Perſian veſſels — iii. 298
— encamp in the ſtraits of Thermopylæ — iii. 303
— numbers of their army at Thermopylæ — iii. 304
— on the approach of Xerxes conſult on a retreat, but are diſſuaded by Leonidas — — iii. 308
— are defeated by the Perſians at Thermopylæ iii. 320
— their naval armament at Artemiſium — iii. 337
— engage in a ſea fight with the Perſians at Eubœa iii. 340
— take thirty of their veſſels, and are ſeparated by the night — — — iii. 345
— defeat the Cilicians — — iii. 348
— again engage the Perſians by ſea, when both fleets retire — — — iii. 348

Greeks deliberate about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece — — — iii. 349
— their contentions at the Olympic games, represented by Tigranes to the Persians as a proof of their virtue — — — — iii. 355
— their fleet anchors at Salamis — iii. 365
— informed that Xerxes had burnt the citadel of Athens, part prepare to fly, and the rest determine to risk an engagement at sea near the isthmus — iii. 378
— Themistocles prevails on Eurybiades, their commander, to stay and fight at Salamis — — iii. 383
— on a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea, the Greek confederates supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the Æacidæ — iii. 384
— defend the Peloponnese against Xerxes — iii. 394
— dissensions among them at Salamis — iii. 397
— a catalogue of, remarkable for their merit and poverty given by Ælian — — iii. 401, n.
— finding it impracticable to return to the isthmus, prepare for battle — — — iii. 403
— destroy a great part of Xerxes' fleet at Salamis, iii. 406; with but small loss on their own side — iii. 408
— several, whose ships are destroyed, escape by swimming to Salamis — — — iii. 408
— the art of swimming a material part of Grecian education — — — iii. 408, n.
— pursue Xerxes as far as Andros, and then resolve to suffer him to escape — — iii. 426
— their account of Xerxes and his invasion of Greece, rejected by Mr. Richardson — — iii. 434, n.
— attack Carystus, and after wasting its lands, return to Salamis — — — iii. 436
— at Salamis, set apart, as sacred to the gods, the first fruits of their success; divide the plunder, and send the choicest to Delphi — — iii. 436
— erect a statue at Delphi — — iii. 437
— sail to the isthmus — — — iii. 437

Greeks declare that Themiſtocles deſerved the ſecond reward, but avoid from envy to decide who deſerved the firſt, and ſeverally return to their own homes — iii. 438
— their fleet at Ægina, againſt Mardonius — iii. 443
— arrive at Platæa — — — iv. 23
— amount of their army at Platæa — — iv. 29
— offer ſacrifices previous to battle, iv. 31; which promiſe them victory, if they act on the defenſive — iv. 35
— in want of water and proviſion, change their ſituation — — — — iv. 48
— are purſued by the Barbarians — — iv. 52
— come to an engagement at Platæa, and are victorious — — — — iv. 57
— plunder the Perſian camp after the battle of Platæa iv. 72
— inter their dead after the battle of Platæa — iv. 75
— beſiege Thebes, and put to death the Thebans who had taken part with the Medes — — iv. 77
— their fleet ſails from Delos, iv. 83; and arrives at Mycale — — — — iv. 85
— defeat the Perſians at Mycale — — iv. 88
— ſail from Mycale to Abydos — — iv. 97
— the Peloponneſians return to Greece, and the Athenians beſiege and take Seſtos — — iv. 98
— the Athenians return from the battles of Platæa and Mycale to Greece — — iv. 102
Griffins — — — ii. 314, n.
Grinus, ſon of Æſanius, commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Africa — — ii. 312
Groves at Mona, excellent uſe made of their ſuppoſed ſanctity by Mr. Maſon — — iii. 77, n.
Gryphins — — — ii. 192
Gum arabic uſed by the Ægyptians in embalming i. 317, n.
Gyges, ſon of Daſcylus, various accounts of — i. 15, n.
— murders Candaules, and obtains his empire — i. 17
— ſends preſents to Delphi — — i. 18
— his riches proverbial — — i. 19, n.
— takes the city Colophon — — i. 19
Gymnaſtic exerciſes — — — i. 322, n.

Gymnopædia,

Gymnopædia, ſome account of — — iii. 63, n.
Gyndes, the river, reduced by Cyrus, through reſentment — — — — i. 189
— divided by Cyrus into three hundred and ſixty channels — — — — ii. 417

H.

Habit, diſtinction between it and cuſtom — ii. 46, n.
Habits, military, of the Greeks and Romans, very much reſembled each other — — ii. 411, n.
Hair worn ſhort by the Argives, and long by the Lacedæmonians, after the latter had obtained Thyrea i. 86
— formerly worn long by the Greeks — — i. 86, n.
— why cut off before, and ſuffered to grow behind, by the Abantes — — — i. 150, n.
— order of Alexander the Great, concerning that of his troops — — — i. 150, n.
— worn long by the Babylonians — — i. 197
— of the prieſts in Ægypt worn ſhort, in other places long — — — — i. 256
— Ægyptians, on the loſs of their friends, ſuffer their hair to grow, other nations cut it off — — i. 257
— of the eye-brows, cut off by the Ægyptians on the death of a cat — — — i. 292
— of the head, and every part of the body, ſhaved by the Ægyptians, on the death of a dog — i. 292
— cut off by the Delian youth, in honour of the Hyperborean virgins — — ii. 210
— offering it to the gods, of great antiquity — ii. 210, n.
— cut off in honour of the dead, in a circular form; a cuſtom forbidden the Jews — — ii. 210, n.
— a tuft only worn in the center of the head by the Macæ — — — — ii. 334
— by the Maxyes ſuffered to grow on the right ſide of the head, but not on the left — — ii. 347
— worn long by the Perſians — — iii. 16
— ſhaved by the Mileſians in teſtimony of ſorrow iii. 18

Hair, Lacedæmonians adorn theirs, before any enterprize of danger — — — iii. 310
— the Perſians cut off the hair from themſelves, their horſes, and beaſts of burden, on the death of Maſiſtius iv. 22
— plaited by the Lycians in a circular form — iv. 145
Halys, the river, its courſe — — i. 8
— celebrated for its coldneſs — — i. 75, n.
Hands of vanquiſhed enemies cut off — ii. 238, n.
Hannibal, an artifice practiſed by him — ii. 66, n.
Happineſs, Solon's ſentiments on — — i. 31
Hare conceives when already pregnant — ii. 129
Harmocydes animates the Phoceans againſt the Perſian cavalry under Mardonius — — iv. 16
Harmodius with Ariſtogiton puts Hipparchus to death ii. 420
Harpagus, Aſtyages places great confidence in — i. 115
— is commanded by Aſtyages to take Cyrus, and put him to death — — — i. 115
— delivers Cyrus to Mitridates to be expoſed, i. 117; who, contrary to his orders, preſerves him, i. 119; on the diſcovery of which Aſtyages cauſes Harpagus to eat of his own dead ſon — — i. 124
— his ſubmiſſive reply to Aſtyages on that occaſion i. 124
— invites Cyrus to ſeize on the dominions of Aſtyages i. 128
— inſults Aſtyages in captivity — — i. 132
— is appointed by Cyrus to the command of his army i. 163
— arrives in Ionia, and blockades the different towns i. 163
— takes Phocæa — — — i. 163
— takes the city of the Teians, and the other cities of Ionia, Miletus excepted — — i. 168
— proceeds againſt the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, i. 170; and ſubdues them — — i. 174
— takes Hiſtiæus priſoner, iii. 29; and he and Artaphernes crucify him — — — iii. 30
Hawk, whoever kills one, put to death by the Ægyptians — — — — i. 290
— the ancient Ægyptians, in this animal, worſhipped the ſun — — — — i. 290, n.
— Oſiris worſhipped under the figure of one — i. 290, n.
— buried by the Ægyptians — — i. 294

Heads of vanquished enemies exposed as trophies ii. 238, n.
— of sacrificed animals imprecated by the Ægyptians ii. 263
— of beasts never eaten by the Ægyptians — ii. 264
— See *Skulls*.
Health, attention of the Ægyptians to — — i. 305
Hecatæus, the historian — — i. 390. ii. 488
— Herodotus did not borrow from him — i. 390, n.
— some account of him — — — i. 391, n.
— his account of Miltiades' gaining possession of Lemnos — — — — iii. 131
— his advice to Aristagoras — — iii. 399. 488
Hecatombs, their origin — — — iii. 125, n.
Hector, son of Priam, superior to Paris in age and virtue — — — — i. 354
Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, his name considered by Leutychides as an omen — — iv. 81
Hegesistratus, the Elean, escapes from prison, by cutting off a part of his foot — — — iv. 35
Heifer, Mycerinus inters his daughter in one of wood i. 373
— to touch one esteemed impious by the Cyrenean women — — — — ii. 343
— the women of Barce abstain from its flesh — ii. 344
Helen demanded by the Greeks — — i. 5
— styled Venus the stranger — — i. 345
— detained by Proteus — — i. 348
— the cause of the Trojan war — — i. 352
— restored by Proteus to Menelaus — — i. 352
— Attica invaded by the Tyndaridæ on her account iv. 64
Heliopolis, its inhabitants deemed the most ingenious of all the Ægyptians — — i. 217
— the On of the scriptures, and celebrated for the worship of the sun — — — i. 222, n.
Hell, descent into, a form of admission into the mysteries — — — — iii. 370, n.
Hellanodicæ, the judges at the Olympic games ii. 386, n.
Hellenians frequently migrated — — i. 54
— called Dorians — — — i. 55
Hellenium, a temple of the Greeks — — i. 430

Hellespont, its length and width — — ii. 260
— its original name — — iii. 144, n.
— the Persians throw a bridge across it, iii. 170; which being destroyed by a tempest, Xerxes orders three hundred lashes to be inflicted on the Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea — iii. 171
— another bridge constructed over it by the order of Xerxes — — — — iii. 172
— Xerxes preparing to pass the bridge, throws into the Hellespont a cup, a golden goblet, and a Persian scymetar — — — — iii. 189
Hellopia, why so called — — iii. 353, n.
Helmet, crest first added to, by the Carians — i. 170
— used by the ancients on various occasions — i. 404
— borrowed by the Greeks from Ægypt — ii. 337
Helots, a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, iii. 55, n. — — — — 354, n.
Hemp, used by the Thracians for making garments ii. 247
— Scythian manner of extracting a perfumed vapour from — — — — ii. 247
Heraclea, Dorieus, son of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, being advised to found it, sails to Italy — ii. 405
Heraclidæ, their origin — — — i. 10
— excluded from the kingdom of Lydia by the Mermnadæ — — — — i. 18
— of Sparta, demand a compensation from Xerxes for the death of Leonidas — — iii. 432
— attempted to return to the Peloponnese — iv. 24
Heralds, their persons always sacred — ii. 72, n.
Hercules, his reputed parents of Ægyptian origin — i. 268
— his temple at Tyre highly venerated — i. 269
— preposterous fable in Greece concerning him — i. 270
— arriving in Scythia, discovers a female of unnatural appearance, by whom he has three sons — ii. 187
— the father of Scytha, the founder of the Scythians — — — — ii. 189
— worshipped by the Scythians — — ii. 232
— an impression of his foot in Scythia — — ii. 257

Hercules, ſaid to have meaſured the ſtadium at Olympia by the length of his own foot — — ii. 257, n.
— his ſize whence eſtimated by Pythagoras — ii. 257, n.
— whence the proverb, " Ex pede Herculem " ii. 257, n.
— his conteſt with Eryx — — ii. 405, n.
— his temples on the plains of Marathon and in Cynoſargis — — — — iii. 114
— his altar at Thermopylæ — — iii. 284
— deſerted by Jaſon — — iii. 298
— when burning, aided by the ſpontaneous riſe of the Dyras — — — — iii. 302
— ſon of Amphitryon and Alcmena — i. 269, n. i. 395
Hercules, Ægyptian, one of the moſt ancient deities of Ægypt — — — — i. 268
— not the moſt ancient — — i. 269, n.
— his oracle — — — i. 313
— his temple — — — i. 346
— in the ſecond rank of Ægyptian gods — i. 394
Hercules, Grecian, not known in Ægypt — i. 268
Hercules, Olympian — — — i. 270
Hercules, Thaſian — — — i. 270
Hercules, Tyrian, ſuppoſed to be the Iſraelitiſh Sampſon — — — — iii. 389, n.
— many things in his worſhip ſeem borrowed from the Levitical law, or grounded on what the ſcripture relates of Sampſon — — — iii. 390, n.
Hercules, Columns of — — i. 253. ii. 338
— more anciently called the columns of Briareus, ii. 338, n.
— a people beyond them — — ii. 355. 366
— names of — — — ii. 366
Hermippus betrays Hiſtiæus — — iii. 3
Hermolycus, ſon of Euthynus — — iv. 90
Hermotimus, his unexampled revenge — iii. 422
HERODOTUS, deſign of his hiſtory — — i. 1.
— ſimplicity of his introduction — — i. 1, n.
— his name to be ſo ſpelt, and not Erodotus — i. 1, n.
— no author more warmly commended, or more vehemently cenſured — — — i. 2, n.

HERODOTUS, an English translation of his history printed in 1584 — — — i. 4, n.
— censured by Voltaire and Gibbon — i. 26, n.
— his malignity, according to Plutarch — i. 33, n.
— instance of his sincerity — — i. 148, n.
— lived four hundred years after Hesiod and Homer i. 280
— did not write the life of Homer — i. 280, n.
— particularly wishes to avoid the discussion of sacred subjects — — — i. 289
— instance of his not being so credulous as generally imagined — — — i. 357
— did not borrow from Hecatæus — i. 390, n.
— never charged with theft by Plutarch — i. 390, n.
— whence the names of his books — ii. 1, n.
— his manner of reflecting on the facts he relates ii. 48, n.
— perfectly uninformed in subjects of natural philosophy — — — — ii. 124, n.
— instance of his geographical ignorance — ii. 187, n.
— Dean Swift's opinion of him — — iii. 37, n.
— justified against Plutarch, respecting the battle of Marathon — — — iii. 103, n.
— declares it incumbent on him to record the different opinions of men, though he is not obliged indiscriminately to credit them — — iii. 259
— declares his faith in oracles — — iii. 400
— anciently a very common name — iv. 166
— sketch of his life — — — iv. 175
Hesiod, the Grecian theogony ascribed to him — i. 279
— lived four hundred years before Herodotus — i. 280
— a rhapsodist — — ii. 434, n.
Hesperides, rise of the fable of their gardens — ii. 364
Hieronymus, an Andrian, a famous wrestler — iv. 32
Himera, famous for its baths — — iii. 25, n.
Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, put to death by Aristogiton and Harmodius — — — ii. 420
— his vision previous to his death — ii. 421
Hippias, son of Pisistratus, succeeds Hipparchus in the government of Athens, and resents his death — ii. 427

Hippias, ſon of Piſiſtratus, excites the Perſians againſt the Athenians — — — ii. 470
— conducts the Perſian army to Marathon — iii. 98
— his viſion — — — iii. 104
— in the act of ſneezing loſes a tooth, which he conſiders as inauſpicious — — iii. 105
Hippoclides, ſon of Tiſander, his abſurd conduct when a candidate for the daughter of Cliſthenes — iii. 125
— his expreſſion on that occaſion proverbial — iii. 127
Hippocrates, father of Piſiſtratus, beholds a wonderful prodigy — — — — i. 56
Hippocrates, phyſician of Cos, to his aphoriſms in medicine ſcarcely a new one added — — i. 314, n.
Hippocrates, prince of Gela, betrays the Zancleans to the Samians — — — iii. 24
Hippocrates, ſon of Pantareus, ſucceeds his brother in the ſovereignty of Gela — — iii. 262
— loſes his life in a war againſt the Sicilians — iii. 263
Hippopotamos, eſteemed ſacred in Papremis, but in no other part of Ægypt — — — i. 299
— generally ſuppoſed the Behemoth of ſcripture, i. 299, n.; this controverted by Mr. Bruce — iv. 127
— ſeveral particulars of — — i. 299, n.
— its nature and properties — — i. 300
Hipſicratea, to gratify her huſband, conſtantly wore the habit of a man — — ii. 308, n.
Hiſtiæa, the city of, poſſeſſed by Xerxes' fleet — iii. 353
Hiſtiæus, ſon of Lyſagoras — — ii. 392
— enabled the Perſians under Darius to repaſs the Iſter — — — — ii. 304
— prevented by Darius from building a city in Thrace, and taken by him to Suſa — — ii. 389
— his manner of conveying a ſecret meſſage to Ariſtagoras — — — — ii. 398
— taken captive by Iatragoras — — ii. 400
— by his proteſtations deludes Darius, who ſends him againſt Ariſtagoras in Ionia — — ii. 480
— proceeds to Sardis, where he perceives himſelf ſuſpected by Artaphernes — — iii. 1

Histiæus, son of Lysagoras, assumes the command of the Ionian forces against Darius — — iii. 2
— is seized by the Chians, but released — iii. 2
— his letters to certain Persians at Sardis, on the subject of a revolt, intercepted — — iii. 3
— attempts to land at Miletus, and is wounded in the thigh: again sets sail for Chios, and passes over to Mitylene; and with eight triremes properly equipped, proceeds to Byzantium — — — iii. 4
— informed of the fate of Miletus, confides to Bisaltes the affairs of the Hellespont, and departs with some Lesbians for Chios — — — iii. 26
— gives battle to the detachment defending Chios, and kills a great number of them, and subdues the residue of the Chians — — — iii. 26
— besieges Thasus, iii. 28; but raises the siege, and is taken prisoner in a battle with Harpagus — iii. 29
— his desire of life — — — iii. 29
— is crucified by Artaphernes and Harpagus — iii. 30
— his head sent to Darius, who orders it to be honourably interred — — — iii. 30
History, its derivation in the Greek — — iv. 105
— what it implies in its original sense — iv. 106
Hoffman, a mistake in his lexicon — ii. 257, n.
Homer, his ignorance in geography — i. 241, n.
— the Grecian theogony ascribed to him, i. 279; this contradicted — — — i. 279, n.
— lived four hundred years before Herodotus — i. 280
— his life, ascribed to Herodotus, not written by him — — — — i. 280, n.
— not ignorant of Helen's arriving at the court of Proteus, though he no where mentions it — i. 349
— names of the different parts of his poems i. 349, n.
— did not write the Cyprian verses — — i. 350
— extolled for his lyes — — ii. 86, n.
— his epigonoi — — — ii. 208
— the author of various poems, besides the Iliad and Odyssey — — — — ii. 208, n.
— a rhapsodist — — ii. 434, n.

Homer, his verſes generally ſelected in the poetical conteſts of the rhapſodiſts at Sicyon — — ii. 435
Honey, uſed to preſerve dead bodies — i. 186, n. 200
— abundance of, among the Zygantes — ii. 353
— various kinds of — — ii. 353, n.
— made of the tamariſk and wheat at Callatebus iii. 169
Horns, in cold countries, will not grow, or are always diminutive — — — ii. 205
— of peculiar ſize and form — — ii. 340, n.
Horſes in the lands near Sardis feed on ſerpents — i. 82
— have no antipathy to camels — i. 84, n.
— a conſecrated white one of Cyrus loſt — i. 189
— the province of Babylon maintains eight hundred ſtallions and ſixteen thouſand mares for the ſovereign's uſe — — — — i. 192
— ſacrificed to the ſun by the Maſſagetæ — i. 213
— ſacrificed to Neptune — — i. 213, n.
— Darius choſen king of Perſia by the neighing of one — — — — ii. 104
— the Cilicians produced to Cyrus the tribute of a white one every day — — — ii. 110
— particulars concerning — — ii. 126, n.
— mares milk drank by the Scythians — ii. 181
— trained to the chace by the Iyrcæ — ii. 198
— white, eſteemed by the ancients, and by the modern Tartars — — — ii. 200, n.
— bear the extremeſt cold in Scythia — ii. 204
— wild white ones round the river Hypanis in Scythia — — — — ii. 227
— reſpect paid to one by the emperor Hadrian ii. 228, n.
— ſacrificed by the Scythians — — ii. 234
— fifty ſtrangled on the death of the king in Scythia ii. 245
— the cuſtom of harneſſing four to a carriage, borrowed by the Greeks from Africa — — ii. 346
— of the Sigynæ, not able to carry a man — ii. 375
— thoſe by the Praſian lake feed principally on fiſh ii. 381
— of Theſſaly much eſteemed — — ii. 429, n.

Horses, that of Artybius assisted his master in battle — ii. 481
— Ericthonius the first who drove with four — iii. 34, n.
— mode of ranging four horses for the chariot race iii. 34, n.
— the mares of Cimon interred, which had three times obtained the prize at the Olympic games — iii. 99
— ten sacred Nisæan — — iii. 177
— Nisæan, remarkable for their swiftness, iii. 177, n.; and size — — — iv. 19, n.
— the skins of their heads worn by the Asiatic Æthiopians on their heads — — iii. 199
— terrified at the sight of camels — iii 206
— the legs of Pharnuches' horse cut off for occasioning his master's death — iii. 207. iv. 160
— a sacrifice of white ones offered by the magi to the river Strymon — — iii. 226
— in Lacedæmonia, possessed only by the wealthy iii. 439, n.
Hospitality, considered by the ancients, as the most sacred of all engagements — — i. 434, n.
— its rites, in ancient times, paid without distinction of person — — — ii. 51, n.
— customs of the ancients respecting — iii. 18, n.
— of the Athenians — — iii. 438, n.
— from a regard to its ties, the Athenians spared the life of Alexander, the ambassador of Xerxes iii. 454, n.
Hottentots, castration practised by — iv. 152
Houses, formed of salt — — ii. 343
— of the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes — ii. 347
— razing that of a criminal, a preposterous and unmeaning punishment — — iii. 69, n.
Hunting, singular mode of — — ii. 199
Husbandman, his life deemed most contemptible by the Thracians — — — ii. 372
Hyacinthia, celebration of — — iv. 5, n.
Hybristica, a feast of the Argives, its origin — iii. 75, n.
Hymees, his exploits and death — — ii. 487
Hymettus, famous for marble, bees, and honey iii. 131, n.
Hypacyris, the river, its course — — ii. 230

Hypanis, the river, its rise — — ii. 227
Hyperanthes and Abrocomus, brothers of Xerxes, fall in contending for the body of Leonidas — iii. 321
Hyperbaton, happy example of, in Herodotus iii. 8, n.
Hyperboreans — — ii. 192. 207. 209, n.
— why they use barley-straw in their sacrifices to Diana — — — — ii. 210
Hypsipyle preserves the life of her father Thoas iii. 133, n.
Hyræades, his daring effort — — i. 88
Hyria, built by the Cretans — — iii. 278
Hystaspes, son of Arsamis, by order of Cyrus, leaves his army, to prevent any designs of his son Darius in Persia against Cyrus — — i. 209

I.

Iacchus, derivation of the word — iii. 385, n.
Jack-all, whence supposed to be the lion's provider ii. 351, n.
James II. anecdote of, particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors — — iii. 435, n.
Jamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination to ii. 407, n.
Jamus, whence so called — — iv. 31
Januarius, St. liquefying of his blood at Naples, an instance of credulity similar to that of the Carian priestesses in Herodotus — — i. 176, n.
Iapyges, whence so called — ii. 272, n. iii. 279
Jason, his expedition in the Argo — — ii. 335
Ibis, whoever kills one, put to death by the Ægyptians i. 290
— buried by the Ægyptians — — i. 294
— why venerated by the Ægyptians — i. 303
— described — — — i. 303
Ichneumon, ceremony in Ægypt with respect to i. 293
Ida, mount, a number of troops of Xerxes passing under, destroyed by a storm — — iii. 179
Jephtha, the account of his daughter resembles the story of Iphigenia — — — ii. 275, n.
— his actual sacrifice not to be imagined — iv. 146

Jerboa

Jerboa of Barbary, the ſame with the two-footed rat of Herodotus — — ii. 352, n.
Jeruſalem, called Cadytes — — i. 413, n.
Jews, their diſlike of ſwine, how accounted for by Plutarch — — — — i. 272, n.
— their cuſtom of mourning and feaſting at funerals, ſtill obſerved in the eaſt — — ii. 373, n.
Images, the more ancient nations did not worſhip them — — — — i. 134, n.
— the magi abominated all worſhip of — ii. 93, n.
Imprecations, very frequent in ancient times, and particularly in the eaſt — — ii. 89, n.
— two remarkable ones — — ii. 89, n.
Indathyrſus, a Scythian prince, his anſwer to the demand of Darius of earth and water — — ii. 292
India, the heat there greateſt in the morning — ii. 123
— its products — — — ii. 126
Indians, many marks of reſemblance between them and the Ægyptians — — i. 361, n.
— are divided into four principal caſts — i. 417, n.
— a moſt numerous nation — — ii. 114
— the people of Aſia who are neareſt the Eaſt — ii. 117
— manners of their different nations — ii. 117
— their method of obtaining gold — — ii. 121
— their dreſs in the army of Xerxes — iii. 197
Indolence, a life of, the moſt honourable among the Thracians — — — — ii. 372
Indoſtan, the ſon obliged to practiſe the profeſſion of his father in — — — i. 419, n.
Infant, effects of one ſmiling in the face of men — ii. 462
Infernal regions, viſited by Rhampſinitus, king of Ægypt — — — — i. 359
Inheritance, among the Lycians, deſcended to the daughters — — — — i. 174, n.
— various modes of — — iii. 137, n.
Inſcriptions, many baſe and ſervile ones dedicated to the Cæſars and their deſcendants — — ii. 256, n.
Inſects, the Guebres, or ancient fire-worſhippers of Perſia, deem it meritorious to put all kinds to death i. 145, n.

Intaphernes,

Intaphernes, one of the conſpirators againſt the magi — ii. 84
— his wife prefers her brother's life to thoſe of her huſband and children — — ii. 139
— with part of his family, put to death by Darius — ii. 140
Intelligence, ſecret, many curious contrivances for conveying — — — — ii. 398, n.
— See *Epiſtles*.
Interment of dead bodies preceded the cuſtom of burning them — — — — ii. 20, n.
Inycus, anciently famous for its wine — iii. 24, n.
Io, with many other women, taken captive by the Phœnicians to Ægypt, i. 3; this denied by the Phœnicians i. 7
Iolcos, famous for its poiſonous plants — ii. 468, n.
Ion, ſon of Xuthus, the Ionians named from ii. 211. 369
Jones, Sir William, poem on liberty — ii. 419, n.
Ionia, purity of its air, and beauty of its ſituation i. 146
— its cities — — — i. 146
Ionians, the firſt among the Greeks who undertook long voyages — — — i. 3, n.
— ſubdued by Crœſus — — — i. 9
— thoſe of the iſlands in alliance with Crœſus — i. 29
— offer allegiance to Cyrus, who rejects it — i. 145
— the appellation diſdained by the Athenians — i. 147
— are divided into twelve ſtates — — i. 149
— celebrate the Apaturian feſtival — i. 152
— ſend ambaſſadors to Sparta — — i. 155
— are ſubdued by Harpagus — — i. 168
— are rewarded by Pſammitichus king of Ægypt, for aſſiſting him — — — i. 407
— preſerved a conſtant communication between Ægypt and Greece — — — i. 407
— neglect the advice of Bias, to erect a city in Sardinia — — — — i. 169
— together with the Æolians are incorporated by Harpagus with his forces — — i. 170
— poſted by Darius near the Iſter to defend a bridge ii. 263; reject the advice of the Scythians to quit it ii. 300
— conſidered by the Scythians as the baſeſt of mankind ii. 304
— their calamities at Miletus and Naxos — ii. 391

Ionians, a republican form of government eſtabliſhed amongſt, by Ariſtagoras — — ii. 401
— poſſeſs Sardis, the citadel excepted, ii. 474; but retreat — — — — ii. 475
— are defeated by the Perſians at Epheſus, ii. 475; and deſerted by the Athenians — — ii. 476
— perſevere in their hoſtilities againſt Darius, and reduce Byzantium and the neighbouring cities — ii. 476
— are joined by the greater part of the Carians, ii. 476; and Cyprians — — — ii. 477
— haſten to join Oneſilus of Salamis with a numerous fleet againſt the Perſians — — ii. 480
— obtain a victory over the Phœnicians off Cyprus ii. 482
— on the defeat of Oneſilus by the Perſians off Cyprus, return with all expedition to Ionia — ii. 484
— thoſe who had been engaged in the expedition againſt Sardis, are attacked by Dauriſes and other Perſian generals, and their towns plundered and divided — — — — ii. 484
— aſſemble with their fleet to defend Miletus againſt the Perſians, iii. 5; but, impatient of diſcipline, refuſe to perform their cuſtomary duty — — iii. 11
— meet the Phœnicians with their fleet — iii. 12
— are routed by the Perſians — — iii. 15
— a third time reduced to ſervitude by the Perſians iii. 31
— their diſtricts divided by Artaphernes — iii. 40
— Datis the Mede takes them with his army againſt Eretria — — — — iii. 93
— appear in the army of Xerxes with a fleet of one hundred ſhips — — — iii. 211
— ſo called from Ion — — iii. 211. 369
— their female ſlaves celebrated — iii. 428, n.
— revolt from the Perſians at Mycale — iv. 89
Joſephus, a ſentiment of his concerning Antiochus Epiphanes cenſured — — iii. 85, n.
Iphicrates, his reply, on being reproached with the meanneſs of his family — — ii. 421, n.
Iphigenia — — — ii. 275

Irene, pun on the name — — iv. 161
Iraſa, the moſt beautiful part of Africa — ii. 319. 363
— the Greeks not permitted by the Africans to ſee it ii. 319
Iron, the art of inlaying, invented by Glaucus of Chios i. 27
—, a metal not uſed by the Maſſagetæ — i. 212
Iſagoras, ſon of Tiſander, contending with Cliſthenes for ſuperiority, divides the Athenian ſtate into factions — — — — ii. 433
— overcome by Cliſthenes, procures a ſentence of expulſion againſt him and other Athenians — ii. 439
Iſis, the firſt of all the Ægyptian deities — i. 264
— her feſtival in Ægypt — — i. 264
— cows ſacred to her in Ægypt — i. 265. ii. 344
— her form — — — i. 265
— her feſtival and temple at Buſiris — i. 283. 285
— called in the Greek tongue Demeter or Ceres i. 283
— Ceres ſo called by the Ægyptians — i. 410
— her temple at Memphis — — i. 428
— honoured by the Cyrenean women — ii. 344
Iſland of Chemmis ſaid to float — i. 409
— Cyanean, formerly floated — — ii. 259
Iſſedones, their cuſtoms — — ii. 201
Iſter, the river, its courſe ſimilar to that of the Nile i. 252
— Mr. Gibbon's deſcription of it — i. 252, n.
Iſthmus of the Cherſoneſe, its extent — iii. 35
Judges of England, their independency — ii. 38, n.
Julian, his dying ſpeech contains many ſentiments ſimilar to thoſe of Solon in his reply to Crœſus — i. 30, n.
Juno, Cleobis and Bito rewarded for drawing their mother in a chariot to the temple of — — i. 32
— worſhipped in Ægypt — — i. 276, n.
— her temple at Samos — — i. 434
— her temple at Platæa — — iv. 48. 57
Jupiter, invoked by Crœſus, as the deity of expiation, hoſpitality, and friendſhip — — i. 43
— his various epithets and characters i. 43, n. 267, n.
— the firmament worſhipped under that name by the Perſians — — — i. 135

Jupiter, worshipped by the Æthiopians — i. 247
— his oracle at Meroë — — i. 248
— why represented by the Ægyptians with the head of a ram — — — i. 267
— an edifice erected to him under the shade of a beech-tree, by a Theban priestess — — i. 282
— his oracle in Ægypt — — i. 315
Jupiter Ammon — — — i. 267
— his oracle — — i. 250. 281
— his temple ordered to be burnt by Cambyses ii. 30. 365
Jupiter Belus, his temple at Babylon described — i. 180
— the Babylonians fly to his temple — ii. 176
Jupiter, Carian, his temple at Melassa — i. 171
— sacrificed to by the Alcmæonidæ — ii. 432
Jupiter, Celestial — — — iii. 49
Jupiter Forensis — — — ii. 409
Jupiter, Grecian — — — iv. 6
Jupiter Hercæus — — — iii. 63
Jupiter, Labrandinian — — ii. 486, n.
Jupiter, Lacedæmonian — — iii. 49
Jupiter Laphystius — — — iii. 300
Jupiter Liberator — — — ii. 163
Jupiter, Lycæan — — — ii. 360
Jupiter Olympus — — — i. 222
— his statue erected by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa — — — — iv. 73
Jupiter Osogus — — — i. 171, n.
Jupiter Papæus — — — ii. 232
Jupiter Servator — — — iv. 138
Jupiter Stratius — — — ii. 485
Jupiter, Thebean, a woman sleeps in his temple i. 181
— his worshippers sacrifice sheep, and abstain from goats — — — — i. 266
— his image has the head of a goat — — ii. 339
Jupiter Urius — — — ii. 259, n.

K. -*Kiki*,

K.

Kiki, an oil uſed by the inhabitants of the lower parts of Ægypt — — — i. 327
King, a title frequently given to the Carthaginian generals — — — — iii. 272, n.
— the great, the title of the monarchs of Perſia i. 187, n.
Kings of Ægypt, ſucceſſors of Menes — i. 331. 389
— muſt be of the ſacerdotal order — i. 386, n.
Kings of Perſia going on any expedition, named their ſucceſſor — — — — i. 208, n.
Kings of Sparta, their privileges — — iii. 49
— their honours after death — — iii. 54
— their names — — — iii. 443
Kites never migrate from Ægypt — i. 241
Knees, embracing of the, a common act of humility and ſupplication — — — iv. 67, n.
Knights of Sparta, three hundred attend on Themiſtocles — — — — iii. 438
Knots anciently uſed inſtead of locks — ii. 145, n.

L.

Labda, daughter of Amphion, hiſtory of her and her ſon Cypſelus — — — ii. 460
Labynetus, the ſame with Nebuchadnezzar — i. 78, n.
— the laſt king of Babylon — — i. 81, n.
Labynitus, attacked by Cyrus — — i. 187
Labyrinth, near the lake Mœris — — i. 397
— four celebrated ones of antiquity — i. 398, n.
— Cretan, its inventor — — iii. 278, n.
Lacedæmonians, in alliance with Crœſus — i. 9. 72
— obtain good laws through Lycurgus, i. 64; and after his death erect an edifice to his memory — i. 66
— are defeated by the Tegeans — — i. 68
— after the diſcovery of the body of Oreſtes are ſucceſsful — — — — i. 72

Lacedæmonians, battle between them and the Argives for Thyrea — — — i. 85
— refuse to assist the Ionians and Æolians, yet threaten Cyrus to resent any injury against the Grecian cities — — — — i. 156
— their reverence to age — — — i. 310
— undertake an expedition against Polycrates — ii. 53
— their contempt of oratory — — ii. 55, n.
— attack Samos, but retreat — — ii. 63
— their form of government — — ii. 102, n.
— permit the Minyæ to reside among them — ii. 307
— punish them for intemperance — — ii. 308
— always inflict capital punishments by night — ii. 308
— send an army under Archimolius, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens, ii. 429; but without success ii. 430
— in a second attempt under Cleomenes are successful, and deliver the Athenians from oppression — ii. 432
— assist Cleomenes in seizing the citadel of Athens, but are foiled — — — ii. 442
— pass a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time — — ii. 444
— propose to their allies the restoration of Hippias to Athens — — — — ii. 458
— affirm that they were first introduced into the region they inhabit by Aristodemus — — iii. 46
— their perplexity concerning the eldest son of Aristodemus — — — — iii. 46
— distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges — — — — iii. 49
— their ceremonies on the death of a king — iii. 54
— debts remitted by the king's successor — iii. 56
— their sons follow the professions of their fathers iii. 56
— resolve to assist the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon, but are prevented by an inveterate custom of undertaking no enterprize before the full moon — — — — iii. 103
— their advice to the Platæans — — iii. 107

Lacedæmonians, two thousand arrive at Athens, and to gratify their curiosity with the sight of the Medes, proceed to Marathon; then return, after congratulating the Athenians on their victory — iii. 118
— Thomson's animated description of Sparta iii. 220, n.
— throw the messengers of Darius into wells — iii. 239
— send Sperthies and Bulis to be punished by Xerxes for the murder of the Persian ambassadors at Sparta, iii. 241; who refuse prostration before Xerxes, and are sent back by him, without any punishment, to their own country — — — — iii. 243
— their custom before any enterprize of danger to adorn their hair — — — iii. 310
— guard the pass at Thermopylæ with great skill, against the Medes and Persians detached from Xerxes' army — — — — iii. 311
— their engagement with the Persians at Thermopylæ — — — — iii. 320
— why their soldiers wore a red uniform — iii. 321, n.
— trembler, an established term of reproach with them — — — — iii. 326, n.
— remarks on their manners — — iii. 328, n.
— are overpowered by the Persians at Thermopylæ iii. 323
— when they had no arms, fought with their nails and teeth — — — iii. 323, n.
— method by which Demaratus informs them of the intentions of Xerxes against Greece — iii. 336
— discourage strangers from visiting Sparta, and when there, consider them as spies — — iii. 438, n.
— the wealthy only possessed horses — iii. 439, n.
— gold and silver money not permitted at Lacedæmon — — — — iii. 447, n.
— send deputies to the Athenians to oppose their alliance with Xerxes — — — iii. 452
— send a detachment of five thousand men to assist the Athenians against the Persians — — iv. 9
— obtain five victories by the assistance of Tisamenus as a divine — — — iv. 34

Lacedæmonians, challenged by Mardonius at the battle of Platæa — — — iv. 44
— to deceive, a diſtinguiſhing maxim of their government — — — — iv. 49, n.
— victorious at Platæa — — iv. 58
— bury their dead after the battle of Platæa — iv. 76
Lade — — — — iii. 5
Ladice marries Amaſis, king of Ægypt, i. 431; whoſe imbecility is removed by her vows to Venus — i. 432
Laius, ſon of Labdacus — — ii. 426
— a ſhrine built to the furies of him and Œdipus ii. 311
Lampon, ſon of Pitheas, his impious counſel to Pauſanias iv. 69
Lamps, feaſt of, in Ægypt — — i. 286
— Ægyptians make, in the higheſt perfection — i. 286, n.
Lampſacenes make Miltiades their priſoner; but, intimidated by the threat of Crœſus, releaſe him — iii. 36
Lampſacus, given to Themiſtocles to furniſh him with wine — — — — ii. 301, n.
— famous for the birth of ſeveral great men, and the reſidence of Epicurus — — ii. 301, n.
Laodamas, ſon of Eteocles, gives a tripod to Apollo ii. 426
Lapithæ, firſt uſed bridles and harneſs for horſes — ii. 461
Lariſſæi, peculiarity of their ground — iv. 2, n.
Laſus, of Hermione, detects Onomacritus introducing a pretended oracle among the verſes of Muſæus iii. 141
Latona, oracle of, at Butos — — i. 313, 405
— her temple and ſhrine at Butos — — i. 408
— one of the eight primary divinities — i. 410
— the nurſe of Apollo and Diana — — i. 410
Leæna, the courtezan, cauſe of her biting off her tongue — — — — ii. 421, n.
Leagrus, ſon of Glaucon, ſlain by the Edonians in a conteſt about ſome gold mines — — iv. 66
Ledanum, a gum — — — ii. 128, n.
— how gathered by the Arabians — — ii. 132
Lemnians, ſubdued by Otanes — — ii. 390
— their women deſtroy their huſbands, with Thoas their king — — — iii. 133

Lemnians,

Lemnians, the Grecians called every atrocious crime Lemnian — — — — iii. 133
Lemnos, possessed by Miltiades — — iii. 131
Leocedes, son of Phidon, first instituted the instruments of measuring, in the Peloponnese — iii. 123
Leon, son of Meles, carried by his father round the walls of Sardis — — — i. 88
Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides — — ii. 403
— entrusted by the Greeks with the chief command against Xerxes — — — iii. 306
— his ancestors — — — iii. 306
— how placed on the throne of Sparta — iii. 306
— guards the pass at Thermopylæ against detachments from Xerxes' army — — — iii. 311
— consents to the retreat of his allies, and resolves himself to defend his post at Thermopylæ — iii. 318
— engages with the Barbarians, iii. 320; and falls, with three hundred of the Spartans — iii. 321
— the two brothers of Xerxes fall, in contending for the body of — — — iii. 321
— his bones carried back to Sparta forty years after his death — — — iii. 322, n.
— memorable things concerning him — iii. 328, n.
— his dead body barbarously treated by Xerxes iii. 335
— satisfaction for his death demanded of Xerxes by the Lacedæmonians — — iii. 432
— his death revenged on Mardonius — iv. 58
Leontiades, son of Eurymachus — — iii. 307
— with the greater part of the Thebans under his command, has the royal mark impressed upon him, by command of Xerxes — — — iii. 327
Leotychides, son of Menaris, together with Cleomenes, asserts the illegitimacy of Demaratus, king of Sparta — — — — iii. 61
— insults Demaratus, after being elected king in his room — — — — iii. 63
— is banished from Sparta, and his house razed iii. 69
— goes with Cleomenes against Ægina — iii. 69

Leotychides, son of Menaris, the Lacedæmonians resolve to deliver him up to the Æginetæ, but are prevented by Theasides — — — iii. 82
— his speech to the Athenians on their refusing to deliver up their hostages — — iii. 83
— departs from Athens without success — iii. 86
— his descent — — — iii. 443
— sails with the Grecian fleet from Delos towards Samos — — — — iv. 83
— sails to Mycale — — — iv. 85
— his stratagem to encourage the Greeks against the Persians — — — — iv. 87, n.
— obtains a victory over the Greeks at Mycale iv. 88
Lepitodus, a fish venerated by the Ægyptians — i. 300
Leprosy, persons afflicted with, secluded from society by the Persians — — — i. 142
— supposed by the Persians to be inflicted for an offence against the sun — — i. 142
Lesbos, its fame — — — i. 154, n.
— now called Mytilene — — — i. 155, n.
Letters, introduced by the Phœnicians into Greece ii. 423
— particulars respecting their invention — ii 423, n.
— engraved on rocks by Themistocles — iii. 352
— See *Epistles*.
Leviathan of Job, variously understood — i. 296, n.
Levites, derived by Plutarch from Lysios, a name of Bacchus — — — — i. 273, n.
Leutychides, v. *Leotychides*.
Libation, ceremony of offering it — iii. 52, n.
Liberty, poem addressed to, by Sir William Jones ii. 419, n.
— its effects on the Athenians — — ii. 447
— speech of Sosicles of Corinth in favour of it ii. 459
Libraries, eminent collectors of, among the ancients iii. 33, n.
Libya, whence its name — — ii. 221
— the part described by Herodotus, now called Barbary — — — — ii. 366
— See *Africa*.
Libyans, in the army of Xerxes — — iii. 200
— See *Africans*.

Lichas

Lichas difcovers the body of Oreftes — — i. 69
Lie, allowed to be told, by Darius — — ii. 86
— Homer extolled for lying — — ii. 86, n.
Life, human, feventy years the term of — i. 33
— its term in Perfia and Æthiopia — ii. 27
Lightning deftroys the palace of Scyles — ii. 254
— every thing and place ftruck by it, was by the ancients deemed facred — — ii. 254, n.
— deftroys numbers of Xerxes' troops at the foot of mount Ida — — — iii. 179
Linen, of Ægypt — — — i. 260, n.
— Colchian, fimilar to the Ægyptian — i. 336
Linus, the firft inventor of melody among the Greeks i. 309, n.
— the Grecian fong fo called — i. 309, n. 310
Lions, one of pure gold, placed by Crœfus in the temple at Delphi — — — i. 50
— boars their chief food — — ii. 352, n.
— deftroy the camels in the army of Xerxes, in preference to other beafts — — iii. 233
— natural hiftory of, where to be found — iii. 234, n.
— Lionefs produces but one young one in her life, ii. 129; this contradicted — — ii. 129, n.
Liffus, the ftreams of, infufficient for the army of Xerxes, in his expedition againft Greece — iii. 224
Littlebury, a miftake of his, in tranflating Herodotus iii. 192, n.
Lizards, eaten by the Troglodytæ — — ii. 341
Locke, his words on dreams — — iii. 157, n.
Locks, anciently fupplied by knots — ii. 145, n.
Locri — — — iii. 21, n.
Locufts, moft probably the food of the Ifraelites in the defert, and why — — — i. 308, n.
— how eaten by the Nafamones in Africa — ii. 331
Lodbrog, king Regner, his ode — ii. 239, n.
London, quantity of cattle annually confumed in, above thirty years ago — — iii. 291, n.
— now contains, on an average, a million of inhabitants — — — — iii. 291, n.
Lotophagi, live entirely on the lotos — ii. 334. 3[illegible]4

Lotos of Ægypt, its uſe — i. 324. ii. 334. 364
— extraordinary effects of eating it — iv. 127
Lucan has beautifully deſcribed the appearance of the genius of his country to Cæſar when arrived on the banks of the Rubicon — — iii. 74, n.
Lucina, offering to, by two Hyperborean virgins ii. 211
Lucullus, his expences whenever he ſupped in his room called the Apollo — — — iii. 167, n.
Lycians, their origin — — i. 171
— take their names from their mothers i. 173. iv. 115
— furniſh Xerxes with fifty ſhips — iii. 210
— their dreſs in Xerxes' army — — iii. 210
— plaited their hair in a circular form — iv. 145
Lycidas and his family, ſtoned to death by the Athenians — — — — iv. 4
Lycomedes, ſon of Æſchreas — — iii. 345
Lycopas, his valour — — — ii. 64
Lycophron, ſon of Periander, baniſhed by his father ii. 59
— killed by the Corcyreans — — ii. 63
Lycurgus frames laws for the Lacedæmonians, i. 65; who erect an edifice to his memory — i. 66
— remarks on his inſtitutions — iii. 328, n.
Lycus, ſon of Pandion — — — i. 173
Lydians, anciently called Meonians — — i. 10
— reſent the murder of Candaules — i. 17
— their cuſtoms reſemble thoſe of the Greeks i. 37. 78. 101
— privileges aſſigned to them by the Delphians — i. 53
— war between them and the Medes — i. 77
— hardy and valiant — — i. 83
— all their young women proſtitute themſelves, to procure a marriage-portion — — i. 101
— the firſt people on record, who coined gold and ſilver into money — — — i. 102
— invented bowls and dice — — i. 102
— their reſource againſt a famine — — i. 102
— part of them change their name for that of Tyrrhenians — — — — i. 103
— revolt againſt Cyrus — — i. 157

Lydians, their manners totally changed by certain obſervances enforced among them by Cyrus, in conſequence of their revolt — — — i. 160
— ſaid to poſſeſs a fertile territory and a profuſion of ſilver — — — — ii. 412
— once called Meonians — — iii. 201
— in the army of Xerxes — — iii. 201

M.

Macæ, their cuſtoms — — ii. 334. 364
Macedonians, earth and water granted by them to Darius — — — — ii. 382
— part of them reduced by Mardonius — iii. 41
Machlyes feed on the lotos — — ii. 335
Madneſs, frequently conſidered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts — iii. 72, n.
— termed a ſacred diſeaſe by the ancients — iv. 134
Mæander, its fountains — — iii. 165
Mæandrius, ſon of Mæandrius, poſſeſſed of the ſupreme authority at Samos — — ii. 163
— quits Samos on the arrival of the Perſians, and ſails to Lacedæmon — — ii. 167
— receives a public order to depart from Lacedæmon — — — — ii. 168
Magi crucified by Aſtyages — — i. 132
— condemned to die when unable to interpret dreams — — — — i. 132, n.
— Perſian — — — i. 144
— two brothers excite a revolt againſt Cambyſes ii. 71
— whence ſo called — — ii. 83, n.
— ſome account of them — — ii. 93, n.
— their preſents to Chriſt indicated their eſteeming him a royal child — — — ii. 95, n.
— great numbers ſlain by the Perſians — ii. 95
— appeaſe a ſtorm on the coaſt of Magneſia — iii. 296
Magic, derivation of the word — — ii. 95, n.
Magneſia, the fleet of Xerxes ſtationed on its coaſt iii. 292
Mahomet, camels conſecrated to — — ii. 123

Mandane, daughter of Aſtyages, her dream — i. 114
— married to Cambyſes — — i. 115
Mandrocles, the Samian, conſtructs a bridge over the Boſphorus, highly approved by Darius — ii. 263
Maneros, an Ægyptian ſong — — i. 310
Mantinians, their conduct after the battle of Platæa iv. 68
Marathon, ſeized by Piſiſtratus — — i. 61
— the Perſian army conducted thither by Hippias iii. 98
— the Athenians arrive there, conducted by ten leaders iii. 98
— manner of drawing up the Athenian army for battle there — — — iii. 110
— the battle of deſcribed — — iii. 111
— Epizelus ſtruck with blindneſs at the battle of iii. 115
— the battle of, repreſented in the portico at Athens, called Pœcile — — iii. 115, n.
Marble, artificially ſtained, amongſt the ruins of the higher Ægypt — — i. 433, n.
— of Paros, of inimitable whiteneſs — ii. 66, n.
— of Paros always preferred by the more eminent ſculptors of antiquity — — ii. 428, n.
Mardonius, ſon of Gobryas, ſent by Darius to Ionia to ſuperſede his other commanders, every where eſtabliſhes a democracy in Ionia — — iii. 40
— proceeds with a numerous fleet and army towards Eretria and Athens; ſubdues the Thaſians and Macedonians; loſes a conſiderable number of his veſſels and men in a ſtorm — — — iii. 41
— is wounded by the Brygi, but reduces them — iii. 42
— his return to Aſia inglorious — — iii. 42
— is removed from his command by Darius — iii. 91
— his advice to Xerxes reſpecting the Ægyptian and Athenian wars — — iii. 139
— is ſuppoſed to have deceived Xerxes and Artabanus by a pretended viſion — — iii. 158, n.
— a general in Xerxes' army — iii. 204
— his advice to Xerxes after the battle of Salamis iii. 418
— accompanies Xerxes in his retreat to Theſſaly, and there ſelects three hundred thouſand men from the land forces — — — — iii. 431

Mardonius, son of Gobryas, is joined by Artabazus iii. 442
— sends Mys to consult the different oracles, iii. 444; and in consequence of their declarations, sends Alexander ambassador to the Athenians, to procure an alliance, iii. 446; who reject his offers — iii. 454
— marches towards Athens — — iv. 1
— is received by the Thebans — — iv. 2
— takes possession of Athens a second time — iv. 3
— withdraws his army from Athens, having first set fire to it — — — iv. 12
— is entertained, with fifty Persians, by Attaginus, at Thebes — — — iv. 14
— marches with his army to Platæa — iv. 30
— sacrifices according to the Grecian rites — iv. 35
— rejects the advice of Artabazus, and resolves on a battle with the Greeks — — iv. 38
— challenges the Spartans — — iv. 44
— is slain at Platæa — — — iv. 58
— his body interred — — iv. 75
Mares, their milk drank by the Scythians — ii. 181
— those interred, which had obtained prizes at the Olympic games — — — iii. 99
Mariandinians, inventors of the shrill pipe used at funerals — — — — iv. 108
Marius, Caius, impression made by him on a soldier sent to kill him in prison — — ii. 91, n.
Marriage, political — — — i. 78, n.
— law respecting, in Assyria — — i, 198
— between brother and sister — — ii. 38, n.
— of Cambyses with his sisters — — ii. 39
— the Adyrmachidæ, in Africa, presented their daughters to the king just before their marriage, who might enjoy their persons — — ii. 328
— among the Nasamones, in Africa, the bride, on the first night after her marriage, permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person — — ii. 331
— the only ceremony observed by the Algerines ii. 332, n.
Mars, festival in honour of, how observed in Ægypt i. 286

Mars,

Mars, his oracle in Ægypt — — — i. 313
— the only deity to whom the Scythians erect altars, shrines, and temples — — — ii. 232
— ceremonies observed by the Scythians in the worship of him — — — — ii. 234
— worshipped in Thrace — — ii. 373
— his hill at Athens — — — iii. 374
Marsyas, his punishment, an allegory — iii. 166, n.
Mascamis, son of Megadostis, appointed by Xerxes governor of Doriscus — — — iii. 222
— in return for his bravery, he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia — iii. 223
Masistes, son of Darius, insults Artayntes, and narrowly escapes his resentment — — iv. 91
— cruelty of Amestris towards his wife — iv. 96
— flies to Bactra, with intention of exciting that province to revolt from Xerxes — — iv. 97
— is intercepted in his way to Bactra by Xerxes, and put to death, together with his children and followers iv. 97
Masistius, sent by Mardonius with his cavalry against the Lacedæmonians and Athenians — iv. 19
— is killed by the Athenians — — iv. 21
— his body contended for — — iv. 21
— the Persians mourn for him — — iv. 22
Mason, Mr. his excellent use of the supposed sanctity of the groves at Mona — — iii. 77, n.
Massagetæ, Cyrus meditates an attack against — i. 205
— in a state of drunkenness are overcome by Cyrus, i. 210; but are at length victorious — — i. 211
— their manners — — — i. 212
Maxyes suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, and not on the left, and stain their bodies with vermilion — — — ii. 347
Mead, Dr. his treatise on the influence of the sun and moon on the human body — — iii. 117, n.
Measures of land, different ones used by the ancients i. 221, n.
Measuring, instruments of, first instituted in the Peloponnese by Leocedes, son of Phidon — — iii. 123

Mechanics,

Mechanics, confidered, even among nations the leaft refined, in the loweft rank of citizens, i. 419; the Corinthians an exception to this — — i. 420
Medea, forcibly carried away by the Greeks — i. 4
— on her arriving among the Arii, they took the name of Medes — — — iii. 196
— her procefs of boiling, to make men young again — — — — ii. 248, n.
Medes, at war with the Lydians — — i. 77
— revolt from the Affyrian government — i. 104
— choofe Deioces their king — — i. 106
— build Ecbatana — — — i. 106
— in a battle with the Scythians, lofe the empire of Afia — — — — i. 111
— at a feaft, cut off the greater part of the Scythians in a ftate of intoxication, and recover their poffeffions i. 113
— take Nineveh, and fubdue the Affyrians — i. 114
— doubtful whether their dialect the fame with that of the Perfians — — — i. 116, n.
— vanquifhed by the Perfians — — i. 133
— take up arms againft Darius, but without fuccefs i. 133
— antiquity of their union with the Perfians — i. 143, n.
— the Perfians comprehended under the name of, by Herodotus and moft of the ancient writers ii. 306, n. 375, n.
— formerly called Arii — — — iii. 196
— endeavouring to gain the pafs at Thermopylæ, are repulfed by the Lacedæmonians with great lofs iii. 311
Median veft, invented by Semiramis — iii. 228, n.
Medicine, opinion of its origin — — i. 199, n.
— how exercifed in Ægypt — — i. 314
— none of the fciences fooner arrived at perfection i. 314, n.
Medufa, the chief of the Gorgons, her ftory — i. 322, n.
Megabyzus, one of the feven confpirators againft the magi — — — — ii. 84
— his fpeech in favour of an oligarchy — ii. 98
— highly efteemed by Darius — — ii. 305
— reduces in the Hellefpont all who are in oppofition to the Medes — — — ii. 306

Megabyzus conquers the Perinthians — — ii. 369
— by order of Darius, leads his army into Pæonia, and tranſports the Pæonians from Europe into Aſia ii. 379
— ſends ſeven of his army into Macedonia, to require of Amyntas earth and water — — ii. 381
— arrives with the Pæonians at Sardis — ii. 388
— his advice to Darius reſpecting Hiſtæus — ii. 388
Megacles, ſon of Alcmæon, at the head of a faction, expels Piſiſtratus from Athens — — i. 57
— marries the daughter of Piſiſtratus — i. 59
— marries the daughter of Cliſthenes — iii. 127
Megacreon of Abdera, his witty remark on the exceſſive expence the Abderites ſuſtained in entertaining Xerxes and his army — — iii. 230
Megara, in Achaia, ravaged by the Perſian army iv. 13
Megara, in Sicily, the people of, how treated by Gelon iii. 264
Megiſtias, the ſoothſayer, his prediction of death to the Greeks ſtationed in the ſtraits of Thermopylæ — iii. 317
— is diſmiſſed by Leonidas at Thermopylæ, but refuſes to depart — — — iii. 319
— inſcription on his tomb — — iii. 325
Melampus, ſon of Amytheon, firſt taught the Greeks the name and ſacrifice of Bacchus — — i. 275
— is invited by the Argives to cure a madneſs among their women — — — iv. 33
— obtains half the kingdom of the Argives for himſelf, and a third part for his brother — — iv. 33
Melampygi, ſtory of them and Hercules — iii. 315, n.
Melanchlæni have all black garments, and feed on human fleſh — — — ii. 277
Melanippus, his relics brought to Sicyon, and ſacrifices and feſtivals aſſigned to him — — ii. 436
Meliſſa, wife of Periander, put to death by her huſband ii. 59
— on her account, Periander ſtrips all the Athenian women of their cloaths — — — ii. 466
Membliares, different accounts of his deſcent ii. 309, n.
Memnon, Suſa the city of — — ii. 418
Memory, the Ægyptians attentive to the improvement of — — — — i. 304

Memory, local, invented by Simonides — i. 304, n.
— the faculty of, more valued in ancient times than at present — — — i. 304, n.
Memphis, pyramids of — — i. 223
— the ground on which it ſtands, detached from the water by Menes — — — i. 330
— different opinions of its ſite — — i. 330, n.
— built by Menes — — — i. 331
Men, degeneracy of their race — — i. 70, n.
Mendeſians preſerve goats, and ſacrifice ſheep i. 266. 271
Men-eaters — — — ii. 197
Menelaus, aſſiſted by the Greeks to recover Helen i. 351
— after the capture of Troy, arrives in Ægypt, where Helen is reſtored to him — — — i. 352
— ſacrifices two Ægyptian children — — i. 352
Menes, the firſt king of Ægypt — — i. 219
— diverted the Nile, and built Memphis — i. 331
Mercury, whence the Grecian figure of — i. 277
— his temple at Bubaſtis — — — i. 384
— Ægyptian, named Thoth; the inventor of ſciences i. 384, n.
— worſhipped by the princes of the Thracians, who call themſelves his deſcendants — — ii. 373
Mermaids, Spenſer's deſcription of — iv. 140
Mermnadæ, the family of Crœſus — — i. 9
— exclude the Heraclidæ from the empire of Lydia i. 18
Meroe, various opinions of — i. 247, n. iv. 125
Meſambria, built by the Byzantians and Chalcedonians iii. 32
Meſſages, curious contrivances for ſecretly conveying ii. 398, n.
Meſſana, formerly Zancle — — iii. 271
Meſſengers, ſwiftneſs of the Perſian — — iii. 416
Metempſychoſis, believed by the Ægyptians — i. 361
— did not originate in Ægypt, and not of very great antiquity — — — i. 362, n.
— adopted by ſome of the Greeks — — i. 362
Metiochus, ſon of Miltiades, ſon of Cimon, is taken captive and conducted to Darius, who ſhews him the greateſt kindneſs — — — iii. 39
Mice, Sethos delivered from the Arabians by them i. 388

Mice, three species of, in Africa — — ii. 352
Midas, son of Gordius, consecrates his throne to the oracle at Delphi — — — i. 19
— his gardens — — — iii. 449
Milesians, Alyattes resumed his father's war against, i. 20; account of that war, i. 21; and its termination i. 23
— court the friendship of Cyrus — — i. 147
— their factions terminated by the interposition of the Parians — — — — ii. 391
— revolt against Darius — — i. 401
— assist the Carians — — ii. 486
— besieged and taken by the Persians — iii. 15
— the greater part of them slain, and the remainder carried to Susa — — — iii. 16
— their grief at the capture of Sybaris — iii. 18
Miletus, the pride of Ionia — — — ii. 391
Milk of mares, the customary drink of the Scythians ii. 181
Millet grows to an immense height in Babylonia i. 193
Milo, of Crotona, his incredible strength and appetite — — — — iii. 123, n.
Miltiades, son of Cypselus — — ii. 300
— origination of his sovereignty over the Chersonese — — — — iii. 32
— is made prisoner by the people of Lampsacum, iii. 35; but by the menaces of Crœsus is dismissed, iii. 36. iv. 153
— on his death is honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonese — — — iii. 36
Miltiades, son of Cimon, by stratagem secures the possession of the Chersonese — — iii. 38
— flies from the power of the Scythians — iii. 38
— is restored by the Dolonci — — iii. 39
— informed of the arrival of the Phœnicians off Tenedos, sails for Athens — — iii. 39
— escapes to Imbros — — — iii. 39
— proceeds to Athens — — — iii. 40
— one of the ten Athenian leaders against the Persians at Marathon — — — iii. 98

Miltiades escapes from two incidents, which threatened his life — — — iii. 100
— his speech to the polemarch in favour of an engagement with the Persians, which has its effect, iii. 109; and the Athenians are successful — iii. 112
— his reputation increased at Athens, after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon — — iii. 128
— sails with seventy ships to Paros — — iii. 128
— the cause of his resentment against the Persians iii. 128
— besieges Paros, iii. 129; but returns home without success — — — — iii. 130
— is generally censured by his countrymen, and capitally accused to the Athenians; but by the interference of the people, his life is saved on payment of a fine iii. 130
— dies of a wound received at Paros — — iii. 131
— his manner of possessing Lemnos — — iii. 131
Milton, the idea of his Pandemonium whence probably suggested — — — iii. 5, n.
Mind, its powers increase and improve with those of the body — — — ii. 155
Mine, on the brink of the Prasian lake, produced Alexander a talent a day — — — ii. 381
Minerva, her magnificent portico, built by Amasis at Saïs — — — — i. 146
— her priestess said to have a prodigious beard previously to any calamity among the Pedasians — i. 176. iii. 422
— her solemnities at Saïs — — i. 283
— her oracle in Ægypt — — i. 313
— her statue at Cyrene — — i. 432
— her temple at Lindus — — i. 432
— festival of the Ausenses in honour of — ii. 337
— the daughter of Neptune, and adopted by Jupiter ii. 337
— the vest and ægis decorating her shrine, borrowed by the Greeks from the Africans — — ii. 345
— origin of the loud cries in her temple — ii. 346
— the panathenæa in honour of — — ii. 421
— her shrine at Athens — — — ii. 440
— her temple at Sigeum — — — ii. 469

Minerva, Alean, her temple at Tegea — i. 68
Minerva, Assesian, her temple destroyed — i. 22
Minerva, Crastian, her temple built by Dorieus — ii. 407
Minerva Pæonia — — ii. 367, n.
Minerva, Pallenian, her temple — — i. 62
Minerva Polias — — — — ii. 451
Minerva Poliouchos — — i. 162, n.
Minerva, Pronean — — — i. 99
— her temple at Delphi — — iii. 363
Minerva Sciras, her temple — — iii. 413
Minerva, Trojan, Xerxes sacrifices one thousand oxen to — — — — iii. 180
Miniature, works in, executed by the ancients, never equalled by the moderns — — ii. 50, n.
Minos formed the design of making himself master of the sea — — — ii. 143
— account of — — iii. 276, n. 277, n.
— said to perish by a violent death — iii. 277
Minyæ, permitted by the Lacedæmonians to reside with them — — — ii. 307
— punished by them — — ii. 308
— escape, and take refuge on Taygetus — ii. 308
Mithra, Venus so called by the Persians — i. 135
Mitridates preserves Cyrus — — i. 119
Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, reproaches Orœtes, ii. 141; for which he and his son are put to death by Orœtes — — — — ii. 148
Mnesiphilus, his advice to Themistocles against the Grecian fleet's leaving Salamis — — iii. 379
Moderns have never equalled the ancients in engraving on precious stones, nor in any works of miniature ii. 50, n.
Mæotis, *Palus*, called the mother of the Euxine ii. 261
Mæris, king of Ægypt, various monuments of him i. 332
— erected pyramids — — i. 332
Mæris, the lake, in Ægypt — — i. 400
— its pyramids — — — i. 401
— fishery there — — — i. 401
— how formed — — — i. 403

Mole,

Mole, why held sacred by the Ægyptians — i. 405, n.
Monarchy, arguments in favour of — ii. 100
Money, the Lydians the first people on record who coined gold and silver into — — i. 102
— borrowed in the reign of Asychis, king of Ægypt, by pledging the body of a father — — i. 381
— a coin of the purest gold issued by Darius — ii. 326
— a coin of the purest silver, called an Aryandic, issued by Aryandes — — — ii. 326
— in remoter times the families of kings had but little — — — — iii. 447
— particulars respecting its invention and use iii. 447, n.
— gold and silver, not permitted at Lacedæmon iii. 447, n.
Monkies, eaten by the Zygantes of Africa — ii. 353
Montesquieu gives an entertaining account of the Troglodytæ — — — ii. 341, n.
Moon, adored by all the Africans — — ii. 345
— adored by the Persians — i. 135. iii. 175
— swine offered to, by the Ægyptians — i. 273
— the Lacedæmonians would undertake no enterprize before it was at the full — — iii. 103
— doctrine of its influence on the human body now exploded — — iii. 117, n.
— the time of the new moon preferred in the east to begin a journey — — iii. 117. n.
— worshipped by several of the oriental nations iii. 175, n.
— why the figure of the moon worn by the Arcadians in their shoes — — iii. 269, n.
Moors, western, mode of their commerce with the Nigritians — — — ii. 355, n.
Mountains, the Persians offer sacrifices from the summits of the highest — — — i. 135
— oracular temples mostly situated on — i. 135, n.
— a large one opposite to Samothracia overturned by a search after mines — — iii. 44
Mourning for the dead, time of, in ancient and modern Ægypt, i. 318, n. See *Funerals*.

Mules never generate any farther, ii. 170, n.; yet one ſaid to have produced a young one at the ſiege of Babylon by Darius, ii. 171; and another at Sardis — iii. 191
— never produced in the diſtrict of Elis; which the inhabitants conſider as a curſe — — ii. 205
— not produced in Scythia — — ii. 294
Mummies, a proof of the high degree of knowledge of chymiſtry among the Ægyptians — i. 316, n.
Muſes, why their names annexed to the books of Herodotus — — — ii. 1, n.
— their number, reſidence, and order — ii. 2, n.
— the city Theſpia ſacred to — — ii. 448, n.
Muſic, an important part of Grecian education ii. 154, n.
Muſicians, the Argives the moſt ſkilful, in Greece ii. 154
Mycale, the Ionians aſſemble on, to celebrate the Panionia — — — — i. 153
— victory of the Greeks over the Perſians at — iv. 79
Mycerinus, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds Chephren — i. 372
— his equitable reign — — i. 372
— inters his daughter in an heifer made of wood i. 373
— coloſſal ſtatues of his concubines — i. 374
— is informed by the oracle of the period of his life i. 375
— built a pyramid — — i. 376
— is ſucceeded by Aſychis — — i. 381
Mycithus, ſon of Chœrus, conſecrates a great number of ſtatues in Olympia — — iii. 279
Mylaſſa, ancient temple of Jupiter at — i. 171
Mylitta, the Aſſyrian name for Venus — — i. 202
Myrcinus, given by Darius to Hiſtiæus ii. 376. 388. 488
Myrinæi oppoſe the Athenians in taking poſſeſſion of Lemnos, but are compelled to ſurrender — iii. 134
Myrmidons, whence ſo called — — ii. 457, n.
— uſe of the word in Engliſh — — ii. 457, n.
Myrtle, a favourite plant with the ancients iii. 189, n.
Mys, ſent by Mardonius to conſult the different oracles — — — — iii. 444
Myſians, injured by a wild boar, requeſt the aſſiſtance of Atys, ſon of Crœſus — — i. 39

Mysteries, Cabirian — — — i. 277
— of Orpheus — — — i. 312
— Pythagorean — — — i. 312
— Ægyptian — — — i. 422
— of Ceres — — i. 422. iii. 14. 385
Myus, infested by gnats — — ii. 400, n.

N.

Naked, for a man to be seen, deemed by the Barbarians a matter of the greatest turpitude — i. 15
Names, the Lycians take theirs from their mothers i. 173
— no distinction of, among the Atlantes — ii. 342
— anecdote of a Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name — — iii. 387, n.
— presages drawn from them, much regarded by the Greeks and Romans — — iv. 81, n.
Nasamones — — — i. 259
— their customs — — ii. 330. 346. 363
Nativities, cast by the Ægyptians — — i. 313
— by the poets of Greece — — i. 313
Naucratis, courtezans of, generally beautiful — i. 380
— Greeks settled there by permission of Amasis, king of Ægypt — — — i. 430
— formerly the sole emporium of Ægypt — i. 430
Naumachiæ, one of the grandest of the Roman shews — — — — iii. 181, n.
Naxos, the happiest of the Ionian islands — ii. 391
— stands out against a siege by the Persians — ii. 397
— the sacred buildings and city, burned by the Persians iii. 92
Necho, king of Ægypt, first proved that Africa is surrounded by the sea — — — ii. 216
Necos, king of Ægypt, succeeds his father — i. 411
— makes the canal leading to the Red Sea — i. 411
— his military enterprizes — — i. 412
— succeeded by his son Psammis — — i. 413
Neptune, horses sacrificed to — — i. 213, n.

Neptune, the Ægyptians disclaim all knowledge of — i. 268
— worshipped by the Africans near lake Tritonis — ii. 345
— supposed to cause earthquakes — — iii. 236
— and Minerva, said to have placed an olive and a sea in the temple of Erectheus at Athens — iii. 377
— his altar at the isthmus — — iii. 437
— his figure erected by the Greeks after the battle of Platæa — — — iv. 73
Neptune, Heliconian — — — 153
Neptune Hippias — — iii. 377, n.
Neptune Servator — — — iii. 297
Nets, used in the east to cover beds, by way of protection from flies — — — iv. 127
Neuri, said to have the power of transforming themselves into wolves, and resuming their former shape at pleasure — — — ii. 196, n. 277
— compelled by serpents to change their habitations, ii. 276; these serpents no other than the Dibii — iv. 147
Nicknames, the letters of the alphabet given as, by the ancients — — — ii. 460, n.
Nicodromus, the son of Cnœthus, agrees with the Athenians to deliver Ægina into their hands — iii. 87
— flies from Ægina — — iii. 88
Nicolaus, son of Bulis, with Aneristus, son of Sperthies, taken and put to death by the Athenians — iii. 244
Night, how divided by the Greeks and Romans iv. 47, n.
Nile, large additions made to the land of Ægypt from its mud, i. 219; this controverted — iv. 122
— height to which it rises — — i. 220, n.
— beautiful description of the time of its inundation, by Lucan — — — i. 221, n.
— does not divide Asia and Africa — i. 234
— its branches — — — i. 235
— its different appearances beautifully described by Lucan — — — — i. 235, n.
— time of its inundation — — i. 237
— hypotheses for explaining the cause of its inundation — — — i. 238. iv. 124

Nile, Pococke's explanation of its inundation moſt ſatisfactory — — — i. 239, n.
— Herodotus's opinion of the cauſe of its inundation i. 242
— never has the benefit of rains — — i. 243
— why no breeze blows from its ſurface — i. 244
— its ſources — — — — i. 245
— certainly riſes in Lybia, and probably takes a ſimilar courſe with the Iſter — — i. 252
— its prieſts — — — i. 319
— during its inundation, veſſels traverſe the fields and plains — — — — i. 329
— its courſe diverted by Menes — — i. 331
— Pheron loſt his ſight by hurling a javelin into the vortex of the ſtream — — — i. 343
— excellence of its water — — ii. 8, n.
— no ſtream or fountain enters into it, ii. 227; this contradicted — — — iv. 141
— its different names — — — iv. 124
Nineveh, its inhabitants formerly the firſt power in Aſia — — — — i. 109
Niſæus, remarkable for producing horſes of an extraordinary ſize — — iii. 178. iv. 19, n.
Nitetis, the daughter of Apries, ſent by Amaſis as his own daughter, to be the wife of Cambyſes — ii. 3
Nitocris, queen of Babylon, her vaſt works at Babylon i. 184
— her tomb opened by Darius — — i. 187
Nitocris, queen of Ægypt, her ſtratagem to avenge her brother's death — — i. 332
— ſuffocated herſelf — — i. 332
Noah, his ark conſidered as a kind of temple i. 394, n.
Noah, the Danube properly the river of — ii. 225, n.
Nomades, African — — — — ii. 338
— their cuſtoms — — — ii. 343
Nomades, Scythian, totally unacquainted with agriculture — — — — ii. 197
Nonacris, oaths taken there by the waters of Styx, conſidered by the Greeks as inviolable — iii. 70, n.

Nonnus wrote a volume on the rites of Bacchus — iv. 146
— character of his paraphrase of St. John's gospel iv. 146

O.

Oath taken by the Peloponnesians previous to their engagement with the Persians under Mardonius iv. 18, n.
Ocean, a bull sacrificed to, by Cleomenes — iii. 74
— See *Sea*.
Oceanus, no river of that name known to Herodotus i. 241
Octomasades deprives his brother of his head — ii. 255
Odin's hall, hope of sitting in it inspired the Gothic warriors with invincible courage — — ii. 239, n.
Oebares, groom to Darius, his ingenuity procures his master the sovereignty of Persia — — ii. 105
Oebazus, a Persian, his three sons put to death by order of Darius — — — — ii. 258
Oeobazus, of Cardia, with other Persians, retires before the Greeks to Sestos — — iv. 98
— is sacrificed by the Apsinthians to their god Pleistorus — — — — iv. 100
Offices of nature performed at home by the Ægyptians, i. 255; out of doors by the Greeks — i. 255, n.
Offspring, the Persians esteem a man in proportion to the number of his — — — i. 140
Ointments, precious, their use in hot climates — ii. 249, n.
Oiolycus, son of Theras, whence his name — ii. 310
Oiorpata, the Amazons so called by the Scythians ii. 280
Olen, of Lycia, the first Greek poet — ii. 211, n.
— the word, an Ægyptian sacred term — ii. 212, n.
Oligarchy, arguments of Megabyzus in favour of ii. 98
Olive, applied by the ancients to various uses, and the symbol of different qualities of the mind — ii. 414, n.
— those of the Athenians deemed the most sacred ii. 450
— the Epidaurians apply to the Athenians for leave to take one of their olives — — ii. 450
— one placed in the temple of Erectheus at Athens iii. 377

Olympia, the ſtadium at, ſaid to have been meaſured by Hercules to the length of ſix hundred of his own feet — — — — ii. 257, n.
Olympic games, the Eleans ſend ambaſſadors to conſult the Ægyptians on — — i. 413
— laws concerning the judges of them — ii. 386, n.
— mode of pairing the combatants — ii. 387, n
— the prizes frequently transferred by the conquerors — — — — iii. 99, n.
— ſeveral examples of entertainments given by the conquerors in conſequence of their victory — iii. 119, n.
Olympus, ſeen by Xerxes from Therma — iii. 235
Olynthus, taken by Artabazus — — iii. 440
Omens, from birds — — ii. 90, n.
— fire ſelf-kindled deemed by the ancients auſpicious — — — — iii. 79, n.
— ſneezing conſidered as auſpicious — iii. 105, n.
— drawn from names, much regarded by the Greeks and Romans — — iv. 81, n.
Oneſilus, of Salamis, occaſions a revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes — — — ii. 477
— procures aſſiſtance from the Ionians — ii. 480
— his combat with Artybius — — ii. 481
— is ſlain — — — ii. 483
— yearly ſacrifices to him by the people of Amathus ii. 483
Onomacritus, an Athenian prieſt, recites oracular verſes before Xerxes, which induce him to invade Greece iii. 142
Opis, an Hyperborean virgin, honoured by the Delians ii. 211
Oracle of Abas, in Phocis — i. 45, n. 46. iii. 360. 444
——— Amphiaraus — — i. 46. iii. 444
——— Apollo — — i. 182, n. 313
——— Apollo Iſmenian — — iii. 444
——— Bacchus — — — iii. 225
——— Bacis — — iii. 351. 400. 415. iv. 40.
——— Branchidæ — i. 46. 47, n. 160. ii. 399
——— the Dead, near the river Acheron — ii. 466
——— Delos — — i. 182, n.
——— Delphi — i. 45, n. 46. 47. 65. ii. 461

Oracle of Diana — — — i. 313
——— Dodona — i. 45, n. 46. 279. 281
——— Hercules — — — i. 313
——— Jupiter Ammon i. 45, n. 46. 237. 281. 313
——— Jupiter at Meroe — — i. 248
——— Latona — — — i. 313
——— Mars — — i. 313. iii. 202
——— Minerva — — i. 313
——— Pataræ, in Lycia — — i. 181
——— Thebes, in Ægypt — — i. 283
——— Trophonius — i. 45, n. i. 46. iii. 444
Oracles, ſome account of — — i. 45, n.
— oracular temples moſtly ſituated on mountains i. 135, n.
— that of Dodona the moſt ancient of Greece — i. 279
— commencement of the two oracles of Greece and Lybia — — — — i. 280
— why the name of doves given them — i. 282
— miſchiefs of — — — iii. 61, n.
— Herodotus declares his faith in them — iii. 400
Oracles, anſwers of, to Alyattes — — i. 22
— to Crœſus — — — i. 48
— to Lycurgus — — — i. 65
— to the Lacedæmonians — — i. 67. 69
— to Crœſus — — — i. 89
— to the Lydians — — — i. 96
— concerning Pactyas — — i. 160. 161
— to the people of Marea and Apis — i. 236
— to Pheron — — — i. 343
— concerning Pſammitichus — — i. 404
— to the Siphnians — — — ii. 67
— to Battus — — — ii. 317
— to the Thereans — — ii. 318
— to Arceſilaus — — — ii. 323
— to Cliſthenes — — — ii. 435
— to Eetion — — — ii. 461
— to Cypſelus — — — ii. 464
— concerning the Mileſians — — iii. 16
— to the Thracian Dolonci — — iii. 32

Oracles,

Oracles, anſwers of, to the Argives — — iii. 75
— to Glaucus — — — iii. 84
— to the Athenians — — iii. 247. 248
— to the Argives — — — iii. 254
— to the Cretans — — — iii. 275
— to the Spartans — — iii. 318
— of Bacis, concerning the battle of Salamis — iii. 400
— of Bacis, concerning the battle of Platæa — iv. 40
Oraxes, vide *Araxes.*
Oreſtes, ſon of Agamemnon, his body diſcovered by Lichas — — — — i. 69
Orætes, governor of Sardis, contrives the death of Polycrates ii. 141; and accompliſhes it — — ii. 146
— kills Mitrobates and his ſon, and a meſſenger from Darius, ii. 148; by whoſe command he is put to death — — — — ii. 150
Orpheus, myſteries of — — — i. 312
— his death, how revenged by the Thracians on their wives — — — — ii. 372, n.
Orthian hymn, ſung by Arion — — i. 25
— adapted to excite military ardour — i. 25, n.
Orus, Apollo — — — i. 393. 410
Oryxes, animals in Africa ſo called — — ii. 350
Oſiris, worſhipped at Philæ, under the figure of the Æthiopian hawk — — — i. 290, n.
— with the Greeks, the ſame as Bacchus — i. 393, n.
— ſaid to be the ſame with Apis — — ii. 34, n.
Oſſa, ſeen by Xerxes from Therma — — iii. 235
Oſtraciſm, firſt inflicted on Cliſthenes, who introduced it — — — — ii. 441, n.
— not always diſhonourable — ii. 441, n. iii. 400, n.
Otanes, ſon of Pharnaſpes, ſuſpects Smerdis not to be the ſon of Cyrus, ii. 80; and by means of Phædyma, diſcovers that he is not — — ii. 84
— with ſix others, among whom is Darius, forms a conſpiracy againſt him, ii. 84; and kills him and his brother — — — — ii. 93
— his arguments in favour of a republican government — — — — — ii. 96

Otanes, ſon of Pharnaſpes, agrees to the eſtabliſhment of a monarchy — — — — ii. 102
— a mark of diſtinction voted to him and his poſterity — — — — ii. 103
— ſent by Darius to take Samos — — ii. 163
— takes Samos, and delivers it to Syloſon, almoſt without an inhabitant — — — ii. 168
— repeoples Samos — — — ii. 168
— marries a daughter of Darius — — ii. 484
— is ordered by Darius with Artaphernes to lead their forces into Ionia and Æolia; where they take Clazomenæ and Cyma — — — ii. 487
Otanes, ſon of Siſamnes, his appointment under Darius ii. 389
— is made a judge by Cambyſes, in the room of his father, who had been put to death for corruption — ii. 390
Othryades, aſhamed to ſurvive three hundred of his countrymen in a combat with the Argives, kills himſelf i. 87
Otters, produced by the Nile, and venerated by the Ægyptians — — — — i. 300
— their ſkins uſed by the Budini to border their garments — — — — ii. 279
Ovid, baniſhed to a rude and uncivilized country ii. 279, n.
Oxen, their fleſh ſaid to be eaten raw from the living ox, by the Abyſſinians — — — ii. 118, n.
— in Scythia, without horns — — ii. 204
— in a part of Africa, walk backward whilſt feeding ii. 340. — — — — 365

P.

Pactolus flows through the centre of the forum at Sardis — — — — ii. 474
— brings, in its deſcent from Tmolus, a quantity of gold duſt — — — — ii. 475
Pactyas effects a revolt of the Lydians in the abſence of Cyrus — — — — i. 157
— informed of the advance of an army againſt him, flies to Cyme — — — i. 159

Pactyas is delivered up by the Chians, i. 162; this account contradicted by Plutarch — — i. 162, n.
Pæan, various usage of the word — — ii. 368, n.
Pæonians conquer the Perinthians — — ii. 367
— submit to the Persians, and are removed to Asia ii. 380
— those led captive by Megabyzus, by the encouragement of Aristagoras, return to Pæonia — ii. 473
Painting, probably known in Ægypt in the first ages, but no painter there of celebrity — — i. 432, n.
— date of its origin — — i. 432, n.
— reliqnes of ancient painting, beautiful — i. 434, n.
— an excellent subject proposed for an historical painting — — — — ii. 172, n.
Palestine, Syrians of, borrowed the custom of circumcision from Ægypt — — — i. 335
Palm, common in Babylonia — — i. 194
— celebrated for three hundred and sixty uses i. 194, n.
— process of its cultivation in Babylonia — i. 194
— why called phœnix — — i. 301, n.
— a type of the resurrection — — i. 301, n.
Pan, how represented by the Mendesians — i. 271
— in the Ægyptian language, the name for a goat i. 272
— esteemed by the Ægyptians the most ancient of the gods — — — — i. 394
— the son of Penelope and Mercury — i. 395
— his appearance to Phidippides — — iii. 100
— his temple on mount Parthenius — iii. 100, n.
— a temple erected to him by the Athenians — iii. 101
— at Archonnesus, the principal minister of Cybele iv. 129
— called Tegeæus — — iv. 156
Panathenæa, a festival in honour of Minerva — ii. 421
Pangæus, the mount — — — ii. 380
Panionius, his severe punishment by Hermotimus iii. 425
Panionium — — — i. 153
— probably suggested to Milton his idea of his Pandemonium — — — iii. 5, n.
Pantaleon, destroyed by Crœsus — — i. 100
Panticapes, the river, its course — — ii. 230

Pantites, in diſgrace, puts an end to his life — iii. 327
Paper, its invention and improvement — ii. 425, n.
Paphlagonians, their cavalry eſteemed — iii. 299, n.
Papyrus, converted by the ancients to various uſes i. 324, n.
— now ſcarce in Ægypt — — i. 325, n.
Parians, always accounted people of good ſenſe ii. 391, n.
— their method of reſtoring peace to the Mileſians ii. 392
— beſieged by Miltiades — — iii. 129
Paris, ſeized with Helen, and ſent to Proteus at Memphis — — — — i. 347
— See *Alexander*, ſon of Priam.
Parnaſſus, particulars concerning — iii. 359, n.
Paros, marble of, of inimitable whiteneſs — ii. 66, n.
— always preferred by the ancient ſculptors — ii. 428, n.
Parr, Thomas, his longevity exceeded that of Arganthonius, related by Herodotus — — i. 164, n.
Parricide, the Perſians will not believe it ever was committed — — — — i. 141
Parthenius, mount, whence ſo called — iii. 100, n.
Patarbemis, his noſe and ears cut off by order of Apries, king of Ægypt — — — i. 416
Pauſanias, ſon of Cleombrotus, aſpired to the ſovereignty of Greece — — — ii. 395
— conducts five thouſand Spartans againſt the Perſians iv. 9
— engages with the Perſians at Platæa, iv. 57; and is victorious — — — iv. 58
— conſecrates a veſſel of braſs on his victory at Platæa — — — ii. 256, and n.
— protects the concubine of Pharandates — iv. 67
— his reply to Lampon — — iv. 70
— receives a tenth of the plunder at Platæa — iv. 73
— his words to the Grecian leaders, on the luxury of the Perſians, and the poverty of the Greeks — iv. 74
Pauw, M. a falſe quotation of his — ii. 245, n.
Pelaſgians, their language — — i. 55
— the Grecian figure of Mercury derived from them i. 277
— worſhipped the gods by no name — i. 278

Pelasgians, expelled Attica by the Athenians — iii. 13
— those who settled at Lemnos surprize the Athenian females, while celebrating the feast of Diana; carry many of them to Lemnos, and make them their concubines, iii. 132; put their children to death, and then determine to kill their mothers — iii. 133
— their earth, cattle, and wives, cursed with sterility iii. 133
— by command of the oracle, go to Athens, and engage to submit to whatever satisfaction the Athenians shall propose — — — iii. 134
— agree to surrender Lemnos to the Athenians, on terms which are accomplished by Miltiades — iii. 134
— derivation of their name — — iii. 368, n.
Pelopidæ, the descendants of Agamemnon, why so called — — — — iv. 162
Peloponnese, defended by the Greeks against Xerxes iii. 394
Peloponnesians, their oath at the isthmus, previous to their engagement with the Persians — iv. 18, n.
— after the battle of Mycale, return to Greece — iv. 98
Pelusium, Senacherib's army put to flight there — i. 388
Peneus, the river, formed of several rivers — iii. 236
Pentathlon, various opinions of — — iv. 155
Perdiccas, manner of his obtaining the throne of Macedonia — — — — iii. 446
Perfumes, antiquity of their use in the east — i. 197, n.
— particulars concerning — ii. 22, n. 248, n.
Periander, son of Cypselus — — i. 22
— some account of him — — ii. 56, n.
— sends three hundred children of the Corcyreans to be made eunuchs — — — ii. 57
— kills his wife — — — ii. 59
— banishes his son Lycophron — — ii. 59
— takes Epidaurus, and makes Procles his prisoner ii. 61
— invites his son Lycophron to the throne, who, with much persuasion, accepts it, but is killed by the Corcyreans — — — — ii. 63
— his cruelty — — — ii. 465
Pericles, his mother, being pregnant, dreamed that she brought forth a lion — — iii. 128

Perinthians, conquered by the Pæonians — ii. 367
— conquered by the Persians under Megabyzus ii. 369
Perseus, one of the most ancient heroes in the Grecian mythology — — — i. 320, n.
— no other than the sun — — i. 321, n.
— visited Ægypt, for the purpose of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head — — i. 322
— had no mortal father — — iii. 48
— said by the Persians to be an Assyrian by birth iii. 49
Persia, its increasing empire — — i. 45
— disagreement between the Grecian and Asiatic history of — — — — ii. 77, n.
— divided by Darius into provinces — ii. 108
— its satrapies — — — ii. 110
— its annual revenue under Darius — — ii. 114
Persians, clothed with skins — — i. 73
— drank water only — — — i. 74
— haughty but poor — — i. 94
— not certain whether their dialect the same with that of the Medes — — — i. 116, n.
— all their words, expressive of personal or other distinction, terminate in the Doric san, the same with the Ionian sigma — — — i. 143
— all their names end alike — — i. 143
— have no statues, temples, nor altars — i. 134
— sacrifice to Jove on mountains — — i. 135
— their deities — — — i. 135
— mode of worship — — i. 136. iii. 226, n.
— their festivals — — — i. 137
— drink wine profusely — — i. 137
— deliberate on the weightiest matters when warm with wine, but re-consider them on the morrow — i. 137
— their salutations — — — i. 138
— esteem themselves above the rest of mankind i. 138
— fond of foreign manners — — i. 139
— learned a passion for boys from Greece — i. 139
— have a plurality of wives — — i. 139. ii. 83
— esteem a man in proportion to the number of his offspring — — — i. 140

Persians, mode of educating their children i. 140. ii. 86, n.
— put none to death for a ſingle offence — i. 141
— will not believe that any one ever killed his parent i. 141
— abhor falſhood — — i. 141. ii. 86, n.
— their opinion of the leproſy — — i. 142
— are averſe to white pigeons — — i. 142
— venerate all rivers — — — i. 142
— cuſtom of the magi with reſpect to interment i. 143
— incloſe their dead in wax, and then place them in the ground — — — i. 143
— never burn their dead — — — ii. 19
— burying alive a common cuſtom with them iii. 227
— their magi — — — i. 144
— their method of providing themſelves with water in the Syrian deſarts — — — ii. 8.
— ſoftneſs of their ſkulls attributed to their uſe of turbans — — — — ii. 13
— their kings drank no water but that of the Choaſpes — — — — i. 188
— hold the ſons of ſovereigns in the greateſt reverence ii. 17
— their king lives chiefly on bread — — ii. 27
— places of reſidence of their monarchs after the reduction of Babylon — — — ii. 177, n.
— the treaſures of their king depoſited at Suſa — ii. 413
— on the death of their prince, his ſucceſſor remits every debt due to the prince or the public — iii. 56
— law reſpecting thoſe who gave advice to the king — — — — iii. 148, n.
— adoration always paid to their kings, by thoſe admitted to their preſence — — iii. 243, n.
— venerate fire — — — ii. 19
— extinguiſh fire throughout Perſia on the death of the ſovereign — — — ii. 19, n.
— their longeſt period of life — — ii. 27
— had amongſt them a diſtinction of nobility — ii. 96, n.
— their native race ſmall and ugly — ii. 116, n.
— beauty of their ladies now a conſtant theme of praiſe — — — — ii. 116, n.
— their arms and dreſs — — ii. 411. iii. 195

Perſians

Persians wear their hair long — ii. 411. iii. 16
— whence their name — — iii. 196
— almost always comprehended by Herodotus and other ancient writers under the name of Medes — iii. 306
— anecdote of a Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendor of his name — — iii. 387, n.
— swiftness of their messengers — — iii. 416
— why they considered the Greeks as their public enemies — — — — i. 6
— their engagement with the Lydians — i. 83
— under Cyrus, revolt against the Medes — i. 131
— take Astyages prisoner, and destroy the greater part of his army, i. 132; and thus get possession of Asia i. 133
— antiquity of their union with the Medes — i. 143, n.
— get possession of Phocæa — — i. 165
— some of them put to the sword by the Massagetæ i. 209
— attack the Massagetæ in a state of intoxication; slay several, but take the greater part prisoners — i. 210
— paid no tribute to Darius — — ii. 115
— besiege Barce — — — ii. 357
— enter Barce by stratagem, and surrender it to the power of Pheretima — — — ii. 359
— seven Persians sent by Megabyzus, to require of Amyntas earth and water in the name of Darius, ii. 381; which are granted, and they are entertained by Amyntas, ii. 382; but, for their indecency towards some Macedonian women, are put to death by a stratagem ii. 382
— defeat the Ionians at Ephesus — — ii. 475
— obtain a complete victory over the Cyprians ii. 483
— defeat the Carians on the banks of the Marsyas ii. 485
— again defeat the Carians, together with the Milesians — — — — ii. 487
— fall into an ambuscade of the Carians, and lose a vast number — — — ii. 487
— rout the Ionians, besiege Miletus, and take and plunder it — — — iii. 15
— make themselves masters of Caria — iii. 26
— in a battle with Histiæus, take him prisoner, and slay the greater part of his forces — — iii. 29

Persians take Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, and the Ionian cities on the continent — — iii. 31
— burn the city of the Naxians — — iii. 92
— besiege Carystos, which surrenders to them — iii. 95
— get possession of Eretria, pillage and burn its temples, and make the people slaves — — iii. 97
— sail to Attica, and are conducted by Hippias to Marathon — — — — iii. 98
— are defeated at Marathon by the Athenians assisted by the Platæans — — iii. 112
— retire to Asia — — iii. 114
— their loss of men in the battle of Marathon — iii. 115
— march under the command of Xerxes against the Athenians — — — iii. 160
— surpass all the rest of Xerxes' army — iii. 205
— their band called Immortal defeated by the Lacedæmonians — — — iii. 311
— their fleet suffers in a storm near Eubœa — iii. 347
— their joy on hearing that Xerxes was master of Athens — — — — iii. 417
— their sorrow on hearing of the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis — — — iii. 417
— their station in the army of Mardonius at Platæa iv. 30
— are dissuaded by Cyrus from removing to a better country — — — iv. 103
Person, Philip of Crotona honoured by the Ægestæ for the accomplishments of his — — ii. 409
Pervigilia, observed principally in honour of Ceres and Venus — — — ii. 250, n.
Petalism, a mode of banishment — iii. 401, n.
Phalerum, plundered by the Æginetæ — — ii. 449
— the naval troops of Xerxes arrive at — iii. 387
Phallus, consecration of — — i. 274, n.
— its use in the sacrifice of Bacchus, taught the Greeks by Melampus — — — i. 275
Phanes, of Halicarnassus, pursued by order of Amasis, but escapes — — — ii. 6
— his sons put to death in his sight — ii. 12

Pharandates, ſon of Teaſpes, his concubine ſeeks protection from Pauſanias — — iv. 67
Pharnuches orders the legs of his horſe to be cut off iii. 207.
— — — — iv. 160
Phayllus fits out a veſſel at his private expence, to aſſiſt the Greeks at Salamis — — iii. 370, n.
— thrice victorious at the Pythian games — iii. 371
Phemius, the moſt ancient rhapſodiſt on record ii. 434, n.
Pheretime, mother of Arceſilaus, on requeſting an army of Euelthon, receives a gold ſpindle, and a diſtaff with wool — — — ii. 323
— on her ſon's death, applies to Aryandes to revenge his cauſe, ii. 325; who delivers all the land and ſea forces of Ægypt to her command againſt the Barceans ii. 327
— crucifies ſuch of the Barceans as had been concerned in the murder of her ſon — — ii. 359
— periſhes miſerably in Ægypt — — ii. 361
Pheron, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds his father Seſoſtris i. 343
— loſes his eyes, i. 343; and recovers them — i. 344
— burns a number of women — — i. 344
— is ſucceeded by Proteus — — i. 344
Phidippides, Pan appears to, commanding him to reprove the Athenians — — — iii. 100
— arrives at Sparta, on the ſecond day of his departure from Athens — — — iii. 102
Philip, of Crotona, ſon of Butacides, his adventures ii. 409
— honoured for his accompliſhments of perſon — ii. 409
Philip, of Macedon, his method of preventing pride and inſolence in himſelf — — iii. 90, n.
Philitis, pyramids called after — — i. 372
Philocyprus, prince of Soli, celebrated in verſe by Solon — — — — ii. 483
Phocæans, the firſt of the Greeks who made long voyages — — — — i. 163
— attacked by Harpagus, deſert Phocæa, and proceed to Cyrnus — — — i. 165
— obtain a Cadmean victory — — i. 166
— quit Cyrnus, and retire to Rhegium — i. 167

Phocæans

Phocæans build the city Hyela — — i. 167
Phoceans, their method to prevent the incurſions of the Theſſalians in the ſtraits of Thermopylæ — iii. 284
— their ſtratagems againſt the Theſſalians iii. 356. 357
— fortitude of their women in an attack by the Theſſalians — — — — iii. 356, n.
— in defiance of the Theſſalians, refuſe to deſert the cauſe of Greece — — — iii. 358
— their country overrun by the army of Xerxes iii. 360
— their valour, on a report that they were about to be put to death by the Perſian cavalry — — iv. 16
Phœnicians, aſſerted by the Perſians to have been the original exciters of contention between the Greeks and Barbarians — — — i. 2.
— exported to Argos the produce of Ægypt and Aſſyria i. 2
— the head of all the nations of Aſia — i. 5, n.
— borrowed circumciſion from Ægypt — i. 335
— thoſe who are connected with Greece do not uſe circumciſion — — — i. 336
— refuſe to aſſiſt Cambyſes againſt the Carthaginians ii. 22
— ſent by Necho king of Ægypt, to penetrate the northern ocean, and ſail round Africa — — ii. 216
— introduced letters in Greece — — ii. 423
— the Ionians obtain a victory over them off Cyprus ii. 482
— burn the cities of the Byzantians and Chalcedonians, and reduce all the other parts of the Cherſoneſe, except Cardia — — — iii. 32
— arriving off Tenedos, purſue and take a veſſel belonging to Miltiades, and conduct his ſon to Darius iii. 39
— their ſagacity in making trenches for the army of Xerxes — — — — iii. 163
— with the Ægyptians, have the care of tranſporting proviſions for Xerxes' army, in his expedition to Greece — — — — iii. 164
— ſupply Xerxes with a number of veſſels — iii. 207
— of different countries — — iii. 208, n.
— ſeveral, executed by order of Xerxes — iii. 410
Phœnix, a ſacred bird in Ægypt, rarely ſeen — i. 301

Phœnix, incredible ſtory of its burying its parent i. 301
Phœnix, the ſtream — — iii. 303
Phraortes, king of the Medes, his ambitious views i. 109
— periſhes in an excurſion againſt the Aſſyrians i. 109
Phronima, daughter of Etearchus, is ill-treated by her ſtep-mother — — — ii. 315
— delivered by her father to Themiſon, to be thrown into the ſea, becomes the concubine of Polymneſtus, by whom he has Battus — — ii. 316
Phrygians eſteemed by the Ægyptians more ancient than themſelves — — — i. 216
— ſaid to enjoy the greateſt abundance of cattle, and of the earth's produce — — ii. 412
— reported to be the oldeſt of mankind iii. 201, n. iv. 120
— their religious madneſs and effeminacy — iv. 120
Phrynichus, the poet, fined for repreſenting the capture of Miletus — — — iii. 19
Phya, a Pæanieаn woman, near four cubits high, in the character of Minerva, introduces Piſiſtratus into Athens — — — — i. 59
Phylacus, a hero of Delphi — — iii. 365
Phylacus, ſon of Hiſtiæus, rewarded by Xerxes — iii. 406
Phyſicians, in Ægypt, are confined to one diſeaſe i. 314
— anciently hired for a whole city by the year ii. 153, n.
— fees of the ancient, for ſingle incidental viſits, very inconſiderable — — — ii. 153, n.
— of Crotona moſt eminent — — ii. 154
— of Cyrene, moſt eminent, next to thoſe of Crotona ii. 154
— Ægyptian, condemned to the croſs by Darius, but pardoned through the interceſſion of Democedes ii. 154
Pierre, Euſtace de St. his gallant behaviour at the ſiege of Calais, by Edward III. — — iv. 77, n.
Pigeons, the Perſians have an averſion to white ones i. 142
Pigmies, a race of, in Africa — — i. 251
Pillar, erected by Crœſus, to define the boundaries of Phrygia and Lydia — — — iii. 169
Pillars erected for various uſes in earlier ages iii. 13, n.
Pindar, quoted by Herodotus — — ii. 45

Pines,

Pines, to deſtroy like, a proverb denoting a final deſtruction — — — — iii. 36, n.
Piræus, the moſt celebrated port of the Athenians iii. 405, n.
Piromis, coloſſal figures at Thebes, ſo called — i. 392
Piſiſtratidæ repel the Lacedæmonians, ii. 430; but in a ſecond engagement are compelled by them to retire from Athens — — — ii. 432
— uſe unremitting endeavours to criminate the Athenians — — — — iii. 90
— perſuade Xerxes to invade Greece — iii. 141
Piſiſtratus, ſon of Hippocrates — — i. 56
— by ſtratagem obtains the ſupreme power at Athens i. 57
— is expelled from Athens, but reſtored — i. 58
— marries the daughter of Megacles — — i. 59
— flies to Eretria — — — i. 60
— with aſſiſtance ſeizes on Marathon — i. 61
— his moderation — — i. 61, n.
— a third time maſter of Athens — — i. 63
— the firſt collector of Homer's works — i. 63, n.
— purifies Delos — — — i. 64
— famous for collecting books — iii. 33, n.
— his reproof to the idle — — iii. 98, n.
Pit of puniſhment, the Athenians threw the people of Darius into — — — iii. 239
Pitane, the name has afforded exerciſe for much criticiſm — — — — ii. 64, n.
Pitch drawn from the bottom of the water at Zacynthus — — — — ii. 353
Pittacus of Mitylene, a memorable ſaying of — i. 28
Plague, cauſed by the vapours in Ægypt — i. 305, n.
Plane-tree, of gold, preſented by Pythius to Darius iii. 166
— a beautiful one in Lydia, ordered by Xerxes to be adorned with chains of gold, and the guard of it aſſigned to one of the immortal band — — iii. 169
Platæa, Greeks arrive at — — iv. 23
— battle of — — — iv. 57
Platæans join the Athenians at Marathon, in return for former aſſiſtance againſt the Thebans — iii. 106

Platæans, limits determined between them and the Thebans — — — — iii. 108
Platea, a colony sent there by the Thereans, ii. 313; another account of this — — ii. 315
— different ways of writing the name — ii. 318, n.
Pledge, the Nasamones pledge their word, by drinking alternately from each other's hands — ii. 332
— the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines — — ii. 332, n.
— rise of the phrase, "I'll pledge you" — iv. 149
Pleistorus, the god of the Apsinthians — iv. 100
Pliny, his mistake of the words of Herodotus ii. 131, n.
— his mistake respecting the Troglodytæ — ii. 341, n.
Plutarch, his essay against Herodotus — i. 6, n.
— a passage in, amended — — ii. 206, n.
— instance of the weakness of his tract against Herodotus, in point of argument — — ii. 472, n.
— instance of his malignity against Herodotus respecting the battle of Marathon — — iii. 103, n.
Pole, received by the Greeks from the Babylonians i. 340
Polemarch, his office — — iii. 108, n. 281, n.
Polyænus, his Stratagemata recommended to young students in Greek — — ii. 298, n.
Polycrates, son of Æaces, at war with the Lacedæmonians — — — — ii. 46
— his prosperity — — — ii. 47
— follows the advice of Amasis, and casts into the sea a most valuable seal-ring, ii. 50; recovers it, ii. 51; and in consequence loses the alliance of Amasis — ii. 52
— the Lacedæmonians undertake an expedition against ii. 53
— compels the Lacedæmonians to retreat from the siege of Samos — — — ii. 63
— an artifice used by him — — ii. 66
— his death contrived by Orœtes — — ii. 141
— his daughter's vision previous to his death — ii. 145
— is put to a miserable death — — ii. 146
— filled Greece with the ministers of voluptuousness iv. 135
Polydamas encounters three Persians at once, and slays them all — — — iii. 219, n.

Polygamy, argument against — — i. 324, n.
— its ill effects visible among the Turks — i. 324, n.
Pomegranate, its figure worn by the ancient Persians, on their walking-sticks and sceptres — i. 197, n.
Porus, stone of — — ii. 428, n.
Posidonius distinguished himself at the battle of Platæa iv. 63
Posts, regularity and swiftness of the Roman iii. 416, n.
Potidæa besieged by Artabazus — — iii. 440
Prasians, their habitations and manners — ii. 380
Prasis, lake, a mine on its banks produced Alexander a talent a day — — — ii. 381
Predictions, uses made of a belief in, by poets of all ages — — — — iv. 156
Prexaspes, his son killed in his sight by Crœsus — ii. 42
— after a confession of having killed Smerdis, kills himself — — — — ii. 90
Priest, Jewish high, a singularity attending his office i. 256, n.
— of the Nile — — — i. 319
— every high-priest in Ægypt places in a temple a wooden figure of himself — — i. 391
— and soldier, the only ranks honourably distinguished in Ægypt — — — i. 420
— and king, anciently united in the same person, by the Spartans — — — iii. 49
Priestesses of Dodona — — — i. 281
Princes of the East, their lofty titles — i. 187, n.
Princes of the Spartans, distinguished by them by many honourable privileges — — iii. 49
Principles, two, a good and a bad, held by the magi ii. 93, n.
Prisoners of war, their various treatment in different ages, an interesting subject of inquiry — ii. 47, n.
Procles, how discovered by the Lacedæmonians to be the youngest son of Aristodemus — — iii. 47
— at variance with his brother through life — iii. 48
Prodigies, collection of, by Julius Obsequens — i. 82, n.
— generally precede the calamities of any city or nation — — — — iii. 26
— before the defeat of the Chians by Histiæus — iii. 28

Prodigies, one of a tremulous motion at Delos — iii. 93
— one at the temple of Delphi, on the approach of Xerxes' army — — — iii. 363
Professions of fathers followed by their ſons, among the Lacedæmonians, as in Ægypt — — iii. 56
Propontis, its breadth and length — — ii. 260
Proſerpine, called Auxeſia — — ii. 450, n.
— Athenian rites in honour of — — iii. 386
Proteſilaus, his temple in Elæos — — iii. 170
— his wealth fraudulently taken from Elæos, and his tomb ſtript by Artayctes — — iv. 98
Proteus, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds Pheron — i. 344
— the ſame with Oſiris and Canobus — i. 344
— no antique figure of him — — i. 345, n.
— detains Helen — — i. 348
— reſtores Helen to Menelaus — — i. 352
— is ſucceeded by Rhampſinitus — — i. 354
Proverbs, the meaning of many Engliſh ones, to be diſcovered in the cuſtoms and languages of Greece and Rome — — — iii. 2, n.
Proxeni, their office — — iii. 53, n.
Prytanes of the Naucrari, their office — ii. 440, n.
Prytaneum of Athens — — i. 151
— of ſeveral places — — i. 151, n.
— its derivation — — iii. 302, n.
Pſammenitus, ſon of Amaſis, and king of Ægypt — ii. 11
— a prodigy during his reign — — ii. 11
— trial of his diſpoſition when taken captive by Cambyſes — — — — ii. 14
— lives with Cambyſes, ii. 17; but revolts againſt him, and is put to death — — — ii. 18
Pſammis, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds his father — i. 413
— is ſucceeded by his ſon Apries — — i. 414
Pſammitichus, king of Ægypt, prevails on the Scythians to retire from Ægypt — — i. 111
— his mode of diſcovering who were the moſt ancient people — — — i. 216. iv. 121

Psammitichus, king of Ægypt, said to have ascertained the sources of the Nile — — i. 245
— pours a libation from his helmet; is deprived of a considerable part of his power by the other eleven kings of Ægypt, and confined to the marshes — i. 404
— consults the oracle of Latona — — i. 404
— with the assistance of some Ionians and Carians, vanquishes the eleven kings — — i. 406
— builds the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, and an edifice for Apis — — i. 406
— rewards the Ionians and Carians — — i. 407
— spends twenty-nine years in the siege of Azotus i. 410
— is succeeded by his son Necos — — i. 411
Psylli, their expedition against the south-wind ii. 332. 363
— celebrated for managing serpents — ii. 332, n.
Pteria, battle of — — — i. 81
Punishment by death, never inflicted by the Persians for a single offence — — i. 141
— severe, in what cases allowed by the Persians i. 141
— by death, not allowed by Sabacus in Ægypt, for fifty years — — — i. 383
— capital, always inflicted by the Lacedæmonians by night — — — — ii. 308
— Athenian pit of — — iii. 239
Purple, Pythernus habited in, to get a greater number of Spartans together — — i. 155
— particularly affected by women — i. 155, n.
— of the ancients — — ii. 26, n. iii. 423, n.
Pygargi, probably quadrupeds — — ii. 349, n.
Pyramids of Memphis — — i. 223
— on the side of Ægypt, towards Lybia — i. 223
— of Ægypt, injured by an acrid matter exuding from the soil — — — i. 228
— erected by Mœris — — i. 332
— considered by Voltaire as a proof of the slavery of the Ægyptians — — i. 363, n.
— the different uses for which they are supposed to have been erected — — i. 364, n.

Pyramids, the great one built by Cheops, a work of twenty years, i. 367; its dimensions, i. 367, n.; mode of its construction, i. 368; was coated, i. 369, n.; its cost — — — — i. 369
— one of them constructed by means of the prostitution of Cheops' daughter — — — i. 370
— one built by Chepren — — i. 372
— not the sepulchres of Cheops and Chephren, for whom they were designed — — i. 371, n.
— one built by Mycerinus — — i. 376
— one of brick, built by Asychis — — i. 382
— in the lake Mœris — — — i. 401
— of Ægypt, formerly huge rocks — iv. 123
Pythagoras, of Samos — — i. 312, n. ii. 267
— said to have introduced weights and measures into Greece — — — — iii. 124, n.
Pythagoras, governor of Miletus — — ii. 488
Pythes, son of Ischenous, greatly distinguishes himself iii. 286
— preserved by the Persians for his valour, and restored safe to his country — — iii. 286. 411
Pythian. See *Delphi*.
Pythii, their office — — — iii. 53
Pythius, son of Atys, entertains Xerxes and his army with great magnificence, and engages to supply him with money for the Athenian war — — iii. 166
— gives Darius a plane-tree, and a vine of gold iii. 166
— in return for his liberality, is presented by Xerxes with seven thousand gold staters — — iii. 168
— requests of Xerxes to dispense with the presence of his eldest son in his Grecian expedition — iii. 175
— the body of his eldest son is, by order of Xerxes, divided in two — — — iii. 177

Q.

Quail-fighting among the ancients — i. 39, n.
Quails of Ægypt, a great delicacy — i. 308, n.

R. *Rabbi*

R.

Rabbi, meaning of that word, when uſed by an inferior to a perſon above him — — iii. 140, n.
Race of torches, Athenian, in honour of Pan — iii. 101
— in honour of various deities — iii. 102, n.
Rain, lands in Ægypt never fertilized by — i. 230
— falls but ſeldom in Ægypt — — i. 230, n.
— unknown in Æthiopia, i. 240; this contradicted i. 240, n.
— at the Ægyptian Thebes a prodigy — ii. 11
— none for ſeven years in Thera — — ii. 313
— never falls in ſome parts of Africa — ii. 343
Red Sea, what — — i. 179, n. ii. 214, n.
Relaxation, neceſſity of — — i. 425
Religion, the ancients remarkably ſcrupulous in every thing which regarded — — i. 289, n.
— without it the conduct always irregular — ii. 52, n.
— of the Pagans, how beſt explained — iii. 332, n.
Remember, a word memorable in Engliſh hiſtory iii. 90, n.
Reptiles, eaten by the Troglodytæ — ii. 341
Republic, arguments in favour of — — ii. 96
Reſurrection, the phœnix a type of — — i. 301, n.
Reverence, paid by the Ægyptians to age — i. 310
— riſing from the ſeat ſeems to be a prevailing mark of reverence every where — — i. 311, n.
Reward of merit, an ancient mode of — ii. 185, n.
Rhadinace, an oil collected by the Perſians at Ardaricca — — — — iii. 117
Rhampſinitus, king of Ægypt, ſucceeds Proteus — i. 354
— conſtructs an edifice for his riches — i. 354
— remarkable ſtory of two thieves who privately entered his treaſury — — — i. 355
— deſcended beneath the earth — — i. 359
— plays at dice with Ceres — — i. 359
— is ſucceeded by Cheops — — i. 363
Rhapſodiſts, etymology of the word — ii. 434, n.
— ſome account of — — — ii. 434, n.

Rhegium, whence its name — — iii. 23, n.
Rhodes, ſome account of — — iii. 260, n.
Rhodopis, the courtezan — — i. 377
— Strabo's account of — — i. 377, n.
Rhœcus, ſon of Phileus, a ſkilful architect — ii. 71
Riches of individuals in more ancient times — iii. 166, n.
Ring, ſeal, worn by the Babylonians — i. 197
— of Polycrates — — — ii. 50, n.
Rivers, all venerated by the Perſians — i. 142
Rizio, David, manner of his death — ii. 92, n.
Robes, the ancient cuſtom in oriental countries, of giving them as a mark of diſtinction, ſtill prevails — ii. 103, n.
Romans, leſs tenacious of their national dignity than the Greeks — — — i. 1, n.
— a portion of Lacedæmonian manners communicated to them — — — i. 65, n.
— learned their games and combats from the Tyrrhenians, or Etruſcans — — i. 103, n.
— for ſeventy years had no ſtatue or painting of the deity in their temples — — — i. 134, n.
— carried the art of embalming to greater perfection than the Ægyptians — — i. 316, n.
— their method of diſpoſing their army — iii. 147, n.
— the art of ſwimming, a material part of their education — — — iii. 408, n.
— the emperors obtained reputation from the ſucceſs of their lieutenants — — iii. 421, n.
— their religion contrived to throw the chief influence of affairs into the hands of the better ſort — iv. 144
Romulus, ſtory of him and Remus being nouriſhed by a wolf, ſimilar to that of Cyrus — — i. 127, n.
Roſamond, queen of the Lombards, her ſtory reſembles that of Candaules — — i. 11, n.
Roſe, a ſpecies of, in Macedonia, having ſixty leaves iii. 449
Running to attack an enemy, practiſed by the Greeks firſt at the battle of Marathon — — iii. 111

S.

Sabacus, king of Æthiopia, maſter of Ægypt fifty years i. 383
— did not puniſh any crime with death — i. 383
— in conſequence of a viſion withdrew himſelf from Ægypt — — — — i. 385
Sacrifices, human one, by Menelaus — i. 352
— public, by the Athenians every five years — iii. 110
— Perſian mode of — — iii. 226, n.
— human, ſuppoſed to be firſt introduced by Saturn, the Abraham of ſcripture — — iv. 128
Sadder, the Perſian — — — i. 144, n.
Sadyattes — — — i. 20
Sagartii, their manner of engaging an enemy — iii. 205
Sais, buildings at — — — i. 422
Sailors, Britiſh, anecdote of James II. particularly characteriſtic of their ſpirit — — iii. 435, n.
Salamis, the Grecian fleet anchors at — iii. 365
— its fertility — — — iii. 403, n.
— ſea-fight at, between the Greeks and Perſians iii. 404
Salt, why called divine by Homer — i. 286, n.
— pillars of, in Africa — — ii. 338
— a hill of — — ii. 339. 340. 341. 342
— of the ſame uſe as money in Abyſſinia — ii. 340, n.
— houſes formed of it — — ii. 343
— two ſorts, white and purple — — ii. 343
Salutation, Perſian mode of — — i. 138
Samians, expelled by Polycrates, built Cydon in Crete ii. 53
— obtain aſſiſtance from the Lacedæmonians againſt Polycrates — — — ii. 54
— protect three hundred children of the Corcyreans ii. 57
— forſaken by the Lacedæmonians, embark for Siphnos — — — — ii. 66
— defeat the Siphnians — — ii. 68
— are totally vanquiſhed by the Cretans and Æginetæ — — — — ii. 69

Samians produced the greatest monuments of art in Greece — — — — ii. 69
— taken by the Persians — — ii. 168
— put to the sword by Otanes — — ii. 166
— erect a column to commemorate an act of valour of their officers — — — iii. 13
— possess themselves of Zancle — iii. 23
— spare the lives of three hundred Zancleans — iii. 25
Samos, forcibly possessed by Polycrates — ii. 46
— expedition of the Lacedæmonians against it, ii. 55; and of the Corinthians — — ii. 56
— its cakes — — — ii. 57, n.
— besieged by the Lacedæmonians — — ii. 63
— taken by Darius — — ii. 161
— given by him to Syloson — — ii. 163
— delivered to Syloson almost without an inhabitant ii. 168
Sampson, supposed to be the Hercules of Tyre iii. 398, n.
Sand, mountain of, destroys the Persian army marching against the Ammonians — — — ii. 33
— fatal effects from moving sands — — iv. 133
Sandals provided by Anthilla in Ægypt for the queens i. 329
Sappho, her manners reported dissolute by those only who lived a long time after her — i. 155, n.
Sardanapalus, his treasures possessed by robbers — i. 403
Sardanis, his memorable speech to Crœsus — i. 73
Sardis — — — — i. 10
— possessed by the Cimmerians — — i. 20
— becomes the resort of the great and affluent, as well as those celebrated for their wisdom — i. 29
— battle between Cyrus and Crœsus near it — i. 83
— taken by Cyrus — — i. 87
— taken by Antiochus — — i. 88, n.
— entrusted by Cyrus in his absence to Tabalus, who is besieged in the citadel by Pactyas — i. 157
— its distance from Susa — — ii. 417
— its distance from Ephesus — — ii. 419
— except the citadel, possessed by the Ionians, and accidentally burnt — — — ii. 474

Sardis, Xerxes arrives there with his army againſt the Athenians — — — iii. 169
— various maſters through whoſe hands it paſſed iv. 151
Sardinia, reputed remarkably unhealthy — i. 336, n.
— gave riſe to many peculiar phraſes — i. 337, n.
— Hiſtiæus ſwears to render it tributary to Darius ii. 479
Sardoces, ſon of Tharmaſias, eſcapes from the croſs iii. 298
— taken with fifteen of the Perſian ſhips by the Greeks iii. 298
Sarpedon, expelled from Crete by his brother — i. 172
Sataſpes, ſon of Teaſpes, attempts to ſail round Africa, but is diſcouraged, and returns to Ægypt — ii. 217
— is executed by Xerxes — — ii. 219
Satræ, never ſubdued — — — iii. 225
Satrapy — — — — i. 192
— Perſia divided by Darius into twenty — ii. 108
Saturn, ſacrifice of children to — — iii. 273, n.
— the Abraham of ſcripture, ſuppoſed to have firſt introduced human ſacrifices — — iv. 128
Saul, his mental derangement reſembles that of Cambyſes — — — — ii. 43, n.
Sauromatæ, account of — — ii. 279
Scæus, ſon of Hippocoon, gives a tripod to Apollo ii. 426
Scalping, practiſed by the Scythians — ii. 236
— why introduced — — — ii. 236, n.
Scapteſyla — — — — iii. 43
Sceptres, frequently carried by princes in their hands, according to ancient authors — — iii. 71, n.
Schænus, an Ægyptian meaſure — — i. 221
Scilly iſlands, ſuppoſed to be the Caſſiterides — ii. 135, n.
Scylax, of Caryandia, diſcovers a conſiderable part of Aſia — — — — ii. 219
— his puniſhment by Megabates — ii. 396
Scyles, ſon of Aripithes, beheaded for endeavouring to introduce foreign ceremonies in Scythia — ii. 255
Scyllias, a ſkilful diver, deſerts from the Perſians to the Greeks — — — iii. 342
Scymetar, the Scythians worſhipped Mars under the ſymbol of — — — ii. 235, n.
Scytha, his deſcent — — ii. 189

Scythes, king of the Zancleans, besieges a Sicilian city iii. 23
— is seized and put in irons by Hippocrates, an ally of the Samians — — — iii. 24
— escapes, and passes the remainder of his life in the Persian court — — — iii. 25
Scythia, Darius undertakes an expedition against it ii. 179
— account of its origin by the Scythians, ii. 184; other accounts — — — ii. 186
— formerly belonged to the Cimmerians — ii. 190
— further account of the country, and neighbouring nations — — — — ii. 196
— peculiarities of the climate — — ii. 203
— has no towns nor fortified cities — ii. 223
— its rivers — — — ii. 224
— its grass — — — ii. 231
— barren of wood — — — ii. 233
— its extensive plains — — ii. 257
— an impression in Scythia of the foot of Hercules ii. 257
— a description of that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast ii. 271
— neither asses nor mules produced in Scythia ii. 294
Scythians, a number of their Nomades protected by Cyaxares, and entrusted with the education of some boys i. 76
— reputed excellent archers — — i. 76, n.
— revenge an affront offered them by Cyaxares — i. 76
— occasion a war between the Lydians and Medes i. 77
— their history remarkably obscure — i. 110, n.
— arrive at the territories of the Medes — i. 110
— in a battle with the Medes, obtain entire possession of Asia — — — i. 111
— advance towards Ægypt, but are prevailed on by Psammitichus to return — — i. 111
— some of them are punished for plundering the temple of Venus at Ascalon — — i. 111
— lose the dominion of Asia — — i. 113
— are subdued by Sesostris — — i. 334
— deprive their slaves of sight — — ii. 181
— drink mares milk — — ii. 181
— lead a pastoral life — — ii. 182

Scythians

Themistocles, son of, the Greeks declare him to deserve the second reward of valour, in the war with the Persians iii. 438
— is splendidly entertained, and honourably distinguished, at Lacedæmon — — — iii. 438
— his reply to the invectives of Timodemus — iii. 439
Theodorus, of Samos, a silver goblet of his workmanship at Delphi — — — i. 50
— the first statuary on record; constructed the labyrinth at Samos, and made a minute cast of himself in brass — — — — i. 51, n.
— made a seal-ring for Polycrates — — ii. 51
Theomestor, son of Androdamas, made prince of Samos for his behaviour in the Grecian war — — iii. 406
Theoris, a vessel every year sent by the Athenians to Delos, to offer sacrifice to Apollo — iii. 86, n.
Thera, so called from Theras, its founder — ii. 310
— no rain there for seven years — — ii. 313
Theras, sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony ii. 308
— arrives at Thera, formerly called Callista — ii. 309
Therma, Xerxes halts and encamps at, in his expedition against Greece — — iii. 235
Thermopylæ, an excellent plan of the straits of, where to be seen — — iii. 283, n.
— Livy's description of the straits greatly admired iii. 283, n.
— defeat of the Greeks at — — iii. 320
Theron with Gelon, vanquishes Amilcar — iii. 273
Thesmophoria, mysteries in honour of Ceres i. 422. iii. 14
Thespia, a city sacred to the muses — ii. 448, n.
Thespis, not the inventor of tragedy — ii. 436, n.
Thessalians assist the Pisistratidæ against the Lacedæmonians — — — — ii. 429
— forsaken by the Greeks, prove themselves remarkably useful to Xerxes — — iii. 282
— exasperated by former injuries, demand of the Phoceans fifty talents, or threaten to reduce them under the power of Xerxes — — iii. 357
— conduct the army of Xerxes to Doris — iii. 358
Thessaly, its horses much esteemed — ii. 429, n
— formerly a marsh — — iii. 236
Thetis, magi sacrifice to, for the appeasing of a storm iii. 296

Thieves, ſtory of two, who plundered the riches of Rhampſinitus — — — i. 355
Thoas, king of the Pelaſgi, put to death by the women of Lemnos, together with all their huſbands — iii. 133
Thoes, animals in Africa — — ii. 351
Thomſon, his animated deſcription of Sparta iii. 220, n.
— his poem to Liberty worthy of attention — iii. 221, n.
Thonis ſeizes Paris, and ſends him with Helen to Proteus — — — — i. 347
— pretended by ſome to have invented medicine in Ægypt — — — — i. 347, n.
Thracians, ſubdued by Crœſus — — i. 29
— ſubdued by Seſoſtris — — i. 334
— make their garments of hemp — — ii. 247
— conquered by Megabyzus, and reduced under the power of Darius — — — ii. 369
— next to India, of all nations the moſt conſiderable ii. 369
— lament the birth of a child, and rejoice at funerals ii. 369
— have ſeveral wives — — ii. 370
— their moſt beloved wives ſacrificed on their huſbands' tombs — — — ii. 370
— ſell their children — — ii. 372
— regardleſs of their young women, but watchful over their wives, whom they purchaſe — — ii. 372
— eſteem a life of indolence — — ii. 372
— delight in war — — — ii. 373
— their deities and funerals — — ii. 373
— hard drinking their characteriſtic — iii. 80, n.
— part of the army of Xerxes — iii. 201. 290
— through veneration, never cultivate the line of country, through which Xerxes led his army againſt Greece — — — — iii. 228
— drive away the ſacred chariot of Jupiter, which Xerxes had left with the Pæonians — iii. 433
— ſacrifice Œbazus to their god Pleiſtorus — iv. 100
Thraſybulus, king of Miletus, his ſtratagem to put an end to the Mileſian war — — i. 23
— his enigmatical advice to Periander — ii. 465
Throne, the king's, to ſwear by it the moſt ſolemn oath among the Scythians — — ii. 242

Thucydides, his manner of reflecting on the facts he relates — — — — ii. 48, n.
Thunder, prodigy of, in favour of Darius — i. 105
— from a cloudless sky, the highest omen with the ancients — — — — ii. 106, n.
— destroys numbers of Xerxes' troops at the foot of mount Ida — — — iii. 179
— destroys a number of the Barbarians in their approach to the temple of Minerva Pronea — iii. 362
Thyia, daughter of Cephissus, her temple — iii. 285
Thyrea, the Argives and Lacedæmonians fight for i. 85
Tigers, said to prefer the flesh of an African to that of an European; the European to the American iii. 234, n.
Tigris, three rivers of that name — — ii. 417
Tigranes, son of Artabanus, considers the contentions of the Grecians in the Olympic games as a proof of their virtue — — — iii. 355
— one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen, commands sixty thousand land forces of Xerxes at Mycale — — — iv. 84
Timagoras, condemned to death by the Athenians, for prostration before the king of Persia — iii. 243, n.
Timegenides, son of Herpys, his advice to Mardonius iv. 36
— his person demanded by the Greeks, after the battle of Platæa — — — iv. 77
— delivered up to Pausanias, who puts him to death iv. 78
Timesitheus, of Delphi, put in irons and condemned to die by the Athenians — — ii. 442
Timesius, of Clazomenæ, founder of Abdera, venerated by the Teians — — — i. 168
Timo, priestess of the infernal deities, shows Miltiades the means of possessing Paros — — iii. 129
Timodemus, of Aphidna, his enmity to Themistocles iii. 439
Timoxenus betrays Potidæa to Artabazus — iii. 440
Tin, carried from Europe into Greece — ii. 136
Tisamenus, son of Antiochus, offers sacrifices on the part of the Greeks at Platæa — — iv. 31
— obtained the privileges of a citizen of Sparta for himself and his brother — — iv. 32
— the Spartans obtained five victories by his assistance iv. 34
Titormus excelled in bodily prowess — iii. 123

Tmolus, mount, gold duſt deſcends from i. 100. ii. 475
Tombs, the Naſamones ſwear by placing their hands on thoſe of men moſt eminent for virtue — ii. 331
Tomyris, queen of the Maſſagetæ, her propoſal to Cyrus i. 205
— her ſon taken priſoner by Cyrus — — i. 210
— her ſon, releaſed by Cyrus, deſtroys himſelf — i. 211
— defeats Cyrus, and inſults his dead body — i. 215
Torches, race of, at Athens, in honour of Pan — iii. 101
— race of, in honour of various deities — iii. 102, n.
— before the uſe of trumpets, a torch was the ſignal for battle — — — iii. 341, n.
— a torch handed about at the feaſt of Vulcan iii. 417
— intelligence conveyed by means of — iv. 3, n.
Torone, the roaring of the ſea there, ſo loud as to become proverbial — — iii. 162, n.
Tournaments, their origin may be traced in the public games of Greece — — iii. 122, n,
Traffic, mode of, between the Carthaginians and a people beyond the Columns of Hercules — ii. 355
Tragedy, invented by Epigenes of Sicyon — ii. 436, n.
Tranſmigrations, frequent among the Aſſyrians and Perſians — — — — iii. 3, n.
Trauſi, their cuſtoms, with reſpect to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead — ii. 369
Tree, ſingular property of the fruit of one, among the iſlanders in the Araxes — — i. 203
— ſingular property of the leaves of trees on mount Caucaſus — — — i. 204
Trembler, an eſtabliſhed term of reproach in Sparta iii. 326, n.
Tributes, no ſpecific ones in Perſia, during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyſes — — ii. 109
— the annual tribute paid to Darius — ii. 114
Trinity, worſhip of, its high antiquity — i. 303, n.
Triope, temple of — — i. 148
Tripods, ancient, of two kinds — — i. 99, n.
Tritons, the ancients believed in the exiſtence of ii. 336, n.
Trochilus, kindly treated by the crocodile, and why i. 296
Troglodytæ, their ſwiftneſs, food and language — ii. 341
— Monteſquieu gives an entertaining account of ii. 341, n.

Trojan war, various accounts of its preciſe period i. 346, n.
— aſcribed to Providence — — i. 354
Trophonius, oracle of his cave — i. 46, n. iii. 444
Troy, the Perſians date the cauſe of their enmity to Greece from the deſtruction of — — i. 7.
— beſieged and taken by the Greeks, on a ſuppoſition that Helen was detained there — — i. 352
Truſt repoſed, the wiſdom of diſcharging, illuſtrated by the ſtory of Glaucus — — iii. 83
Truth, to ſpeak, one of the firſt rudiments of Perſian education — — — ii. 86, n.
— a violation of, implies a contempt of God, and fear of man — — — ii. 86, n.
Turbans, the conſtant uſe of, ſoftens the ſkull — ii. 13
Turks, their ill treatment of ambaſſadors in caſe of war — — — — ii. 73, n.
— their wives — — ii. 83, n.
— ſwear by the Ottoman Porte — — ii. 242, n.
Twins, perplexity ariſing from their reſemblance iii. 46
Tycta, a feſtival of the Perſians — — iv. 95
Typhon, expelled from the throne of Ægypt, by Orus i. 393
— a bull ſacrificed to, gave occaſion to the golden calf of the Iſraelites — — — iii. 74, n.
Tyre, called by Iſaiah the daughter of Tarſhiſh, and the daughter of Sidon, on different accounts iii. 389, n.
Tyres, the river, its riſe — — ii. 227
Tyrrhenians, origin of the appellation — i. 103
— taught the Romans their games and ſports i. 103, n.

V.

Veil, wearing one, a part of the ceremony of devotion among the Romans — — iv. 154
Venus, moſt ancient of all her temples at Aſcalon, plundered by the Scythians — — — i. 111
— by the Aſſyrians called Mylitta; by the Arabians, Alitta; and by the Perſians, Mithra — i. 135. 202
— her ſtatue by Praxiteles — — i. 149, n.
— her ſtatue de Medicis — — i. 149, n.
— Babylonian cuſtom at her temple — — i. 200
— her temple at Atarbechis in Ægypt — i. 266

Venus, a full account of her, where to be found i. 266, n.
Venus, celestial, worshipped by the Scythians under the name of Artimpasa — — — ii. 232
Venus the Stranger, her temple — — i. 345
— no other than Helen — — i. 345
Vermin, eaten by the Budini — — ii. 278
Vest, the Median, invented by Semiramis — iii. 228, n.
Vesta, the ancients much divided in opinion respecting her — — — — ii. 232, n.
Victims, offered to celestial gods, had their heads turned upwards — — — i. 152, n.
Victory, Cadmean, obtained by the Phocæans — i. 166
Vines, none in Ægypt, i. 306; this contradicted i. 306, n.
— one of gold, presented by Pythius to Darius iii. 166
— several of gold, mentioned by ancient writers iv. 159
Vipers, their excessive increase, how prevented by nature — — — — ii. 130
Virgil, his design in placing the souls of infants weeping, in the infernal regions — — iv. 112
Virgin, to die one, and without children, esteemed by the ancients a very serious calamity — ii. 146, n.
Visions, a method used by the ancients to avert the effects of — — — — ii. 420, n.
Visits, mode of making them in the East — ii. 104, n.
Voice, loudness of, its use in military expeditions among the ancients — — ii. 303, n.
Voltaire, M. abounds in false and partial quotations ii. 245, n.
Urine, Pheron's blindness cured by — — i. 344
— of goats, used by the African shepherds against convulsions — — — — ii. 344
— of cows, applied as a specific in some dangerous obstructions — — — ii. 344, n.
— of goats, a specific in an asthmatic complaint ii. 345, n.
Urius, a name of Jupiter — — ii. 259, n.
Urns, Roman, of what materials — — ii. 29, n.
Vulcan, priests of, at Memphis — — i. 217
— his temple at Memphis i. 331. 332. 381. 388, 406. — — — — 428
— Sethos a priest of — — i. 386
— his temple and statue insulted by Cambyses — ii. 44

Vulcan, a torch handed about amongst the Greeks at his feast — — — — iii. 417

W.

Waggons, the Scythians dwell in — ii. 224. 283
Walking-sticks of the Babylonians — — i. 197
War, God of, sacrifices to — — iv. 101, n.
Water, the only liquor drunk by the ancient Persians i. 74
— adored by the Persians — — i. 135
— transported by the Memphians to the Syrian deserts — — — — ii. 8
— of the Nile never becomes impure; is said to be preserved by the Ægyptians in jars for three or four years — — — ii. 8, n.
— a fountain in Æthiopia, on the water of which neither wood nor any thing lighter would float — ii. 27
— a fountain of bitter water in the country of the ploughing Scythians — — — ii. 228
Water-works, constructed by Eupalinus at Samos — ii. 70
Wax, the Persians inclose dead bodies in — i. 143
Way, sacred, from Athens to Eleusis, celebrated iii. 33, n.
— whence the name of that leading from Rome iii. 33, n.
Weaving, Ægyptian mode of — — i. 255
Weep, to bid a person, was a proverbial form of wishing him ill — — ii. 293, n.
Weights and measures, first introduced into Greece, by Pythagoras — — — iii. 124, n.
Willow twigs, used by the Scythians in divination ii. 240
Winds, adored by the Persians — — i. 135
— the increase of the Nile attributed to the Etesian i. 238
— account of the Etesian — — i. 239, n.
— south and south-west, most common in the higher parts of Libya, and most frequently attended with rain — — — — i. 243
— sacrifice offered to by the Delphians — iii. 285
— of the ancients and moderns — iii. 293, n.
Wine, not drunk by the ancient Persians — i. 74
— drunk profusely by the Persians, in the time of Herodotus — — — i. 137

Wine, allowed to the Ægyptian priests — i. 261
— why never drunk by the Ægyptians before the time of Psammitichus — — i. 307, n.
— whence the Oriental aversion for it — i. 307, n.
— considered by the ancient Ægyptians as the blood of the gods, who had formerly fought against them — — — — i. 403, n.
— annually exported from Greece to Ægypt — ii. 8
Wine, barley, much information in " A Dissertation " on it — — — i. 307, n.
— invented by Osiris — — — i. 393, n.
Wine, palm, the principal article of commerce in Babylonia — — — — i. 195
— in Ægypt, used in embalming — — i. 317
Wolves, the Neuri said to have the power of transforming themselves into — — ii. 196, n.
— buried by the Ægyptians — — i. 294
Women with their cloaths put off their modesty — i. 13
— naked, wait on the Tyrrhenians — i. 13, n.
— young, of Sparta, by the institutes of Lycurgus, were to dance naked at feasts and sacrifices — i. 15, n.
— young, of Lydia, procure their marriage portion by prostitution — — — i. 101
— the Scythians afflicted with their disease — i. 112
— Carian, resent the death of their parents — i. 151
— a female only permitted to sleep in the chapel of the temple of Jupiter Belus — — i. 181
— a woman sleeps in the temple of the Theban Jupiter — — — — i. 181
— in Babylonia, sold by auction to the men — i. 198
— wives purchased by the Greeks, Trojans, and their allies — — — i. 198, n.
— Babylonian, custom of ablution after communication with — — — i. 200
— their prostitution at the temple of Venus — i. 200
— considered by the Massagetæ as common property i. 212
— Cyrus, on his wife's death, commanded public marks of sorrow — — — i. 215

Women, in Ægypt, leave the management of the loom to the men, and are engaged abroad in commerce, i. 254; but this not a custom in modern Ægypt — i. 254, n.
— in Ægypt, carry burdens on their shoulders — i. 255
— in Ægypt, are compelled to support their parents i. 255
— a goat has public communication with a woman i. 272
— the Mossyri had public communication with i. 288, n.
— why, in Ægypt, some are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers — i. 319
— the Ægyptians, like the Greeks, confine themselves to one, i. 323; yet the Greeks did not always so — — — — i. 324, n.
— argument why only one should be assigned to one man — — — — i. 324, n.
— a number of them burnt by Pheron — i. 344
— the courtezans of antiquity derived great profits from their charms — — — i. 370, n.
— courtezans of Naucratis — — i. 380
— various wars on account of — — ii. 5, n.
— different laws at Athens and Lacedæmon, respecting the marriage of a sister — — ii. 38, n.
— in the East, jealously secluded from the other sex, ii. 81, n.
— number of wives allowed to the Mahometans ii. 83, n.
— beauty of the Persian — — ii. 116, n.
— the Indians have open and unrestrained communication with — — — ii. 119
— the address of, O woman! sometimes signifies contempt, sometimes tenderness — — ii. 156, n.
— several, destroyed by the Babylonians — ii. 169
— anciently employed to bake bread — ii. 169, n.
— fifty thousand, sent to Babylon by order of Darius ii. 177
— a female seen by Hercules, half a woman and half a serpent — — — ii. 188
— the wives of the Minyæ, by exchanging dresses with their husbands, effect their escape from prison — ii. 308
— Hipsicratea, to gratify her husband, constantly wore the habit of a man — — ii. 308, n.
— the Adyrmachidæ, in Africa, presented their daughters to the king just before their marriage, who might enjoy their persons — — ii. 328

Women, among the Nasamones, on the first night after marriage, permit every one of the guests to enjoy their persons — — — ii. 331
— wives of the Gindanes, in Africa, wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have known men — — — — ii. 334.
— of the Ausenses, their custom — — ii. 338
— of the Zaueces guide the chariots of war — ii. 352
— a plurality of wives in Thrace — ii. 370. 380
— sacrificed on the tombs of their husbands in Thrace, ii. 371; among the Getæ, and now in India — ii. 371, n.
— in Thrace, young, are suffered to connect themselves indiscriminately with men, but wives are purchased, and strictly guarded — — ii. 372
— by the Macedonians kept separate from the men ii. 382
— fatal effects to seven Persian messengers from their indecency to the Macedonian women — ii. 385
— two wives not allowed to one man in Sparta — ii. 402
— of Corinth, all stripped by Periander — ii. 466
— severity of the Ægyptian laws respecting — iii. 7, n.
— performed the offices of the bath — iii. 16, n.
— those in Greece who were free-born never appeared at funerals, except at those of their relations iii. 54, n.
— were much more rigorously secluded in Greece than in Rome — — — iii. 54, n.
— a woman in Sparta, remarkable for her ugliness, becomes exceedingly beautiful — — iii. 57
— ten months the period of their gestation generally spoken of by the ancients — — iii. 58, n.
— Argive, whimsical law relating to — iii. 75, n.
— Athenian, surprised by the Pelasgi while celebrating the feast of Diana, near Brauron, and killed, together with their infants — — — iii. 132
— of Lemnos destroy their husbands — iii. 133
— Phocean, their fortitude — — iii. 356, n.
— Argive, a madness among — — iv. 33
— to say that a man behaved like a woman, a most contemptuous reproach with the ancients — iv. [illegible], n.
— extraordinary instances of their cruelty — iv. 96, n.
— of Corinth, celebrated for their beauty — iv. 138

Wood,

Wood, Mr. a groſs miſtake corrected in his Eſſay on Homer — — — — i. 226, n.
Words, play on, affected by the ancients — ii. 151, n.
Worms, Pheretima deſtroyed by — ii. 361
Writing, performed by the Greeks to the left, by the Ægyptians to the right — — i. 259

X.

Xanthians burn their city in deſpair — i. 176
Xanthippus, ſon of Ariphron — iii. 128. 443
— capitally accuſes Miltiades — — iii. 130
— crucifies Artayctes, governor of Seſtos — iii. 170
Xenagoras, ſon of Praxilaus, rewarded by Xerxes for ſaving the life of Maſiſtes — — iv. 92
Xenophon, his manner of reflecting on the facts he relates — — — — ii. 48, n.
Xerxes, ſon of Darius, drinks of the water of Choaſpes — — — — i. 188, n.
— ſignification of his name — — iii. 94
— diſpute between him and Artabazanes concerning the ſucceſſion to the throne — — iii. 136
— is declared by Darius his ſucceſſor, and ſucceeds him — — — — iii. 139
— is perſuaded by Mardonius to undertake a war againſt the Athenians — — iii. 139
— reduces Ægypt more effectually than Darius, and confides the government of it to Achæmenes — iii. 142
— before he leads his army againſt Athens, conſults the principal Perſians — — iii. 143
— reproves Artabanus, who had endeavoured to diſſuade him from the Athenian war, iii. 152; is excited to it by a viſion — — — iii. 154
— a ſecond time conſults the Perſians — iii. 154
— is urged to the Athenian war by a ſecond viſion iii. 155
— prevails on Artabanus to aſſume his habit, and retire to reſt in his apartment; when the ſame phantom appears to Artabanus, and induces him to recommend the proſecution of the war — — iii. 155

Xerxes,

Xerxes, ſon of Darius, ſees a third viſion, which is interpreted by the magi to portend to him unlimited and univerſal empire — — — iii. 160

— employs four years in aſſembling his army and collecting proviſions, and in the beginning of the fifth begins his march againſt Greece — — iii. 160

— digs a paſſage through mount Athos — iii. 162

— a letter ſuppoſed to have been written by him to mount Athos — — — iii. 164, n.

— is entertained with all his army by Pythius, who engages to ſupply him with money for the war — iii. 166

— his preſent to Pythius in return for his offer — iii. 168

— adorns a plane-tree with chains of gold — iii. 169

— arrives at Sardis — — — iii. 169

— ſends heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water — — — — iii. 170

— cauſes a bridge to be thrown over the Helleſpont, iii. 170; which being deſtroyed by a tempeſt, he orders three hundred laſhes to be inflicted on the Helleſpont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the ſea, iii. 171; and thoſe who preſided over the conſtruction of the bridge to be beheaded — — iii. 172

— cauſes another bridge to be conſtructed over the Helleſpont — — — iii. 172

— marches his army for Abydos, when the ſun withdraws his light — — — iii. 175

— his cruelty to the eldeſt ſon of Pythius — iii. 176

— his character compared with that of Darius iii. 176, n.

— order of his departure from Sardis — iii. 177

— orders a thouſand oxen to be ſacrificed to the Trojan Minerva — — — iii. 180

— arrives at Abydos, and ſurveys his army — iii. 180

— ſees a naval combat — — iii. 181

— weeps at the ſight of his fleet and army — iii. 181

— his converſation with Artabanus — — iii. 182

— diſmiſſes Artabanus to Suſa, and a ſecond time calls an aſſembly of the Perſians — — iii. 188

— pours a libation into the ſea, and addreſſes the [illegible] on preparing to paſs the Helleſpont — iii. 189

— paſſes the Helleſpont — — iii. 190

Xerxes, son of Darius, drives his troops over a bridge by the force of blows — — iii. 190
— seven days and nights consumed in the passage of his army over the Hellespont — — iii. 190
— two prodigies seen by him, and disregarded — iii. 190
— marshals and numbers his army at Doriscus — iii. 192
— amount of his land forces — — iii. 193
— nations who composed his army — — iii. 195
— his fleet — — — iii. 207
— takes a survey of his whole armament, proposing certain questions to each nation, and noting down their replies — — — — iii. 215
— conversation between him and Demaratus on the probability of his success against Greece — iii. 216
— appoints Mascamis governor of Doriscus — iii. 222
— in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compels all the people amongst whom he comes to join his army iii. 223
— description of his march into Greece — iii. 224
— buries Artachæes with great magnificence — iii. 228
— great expences of the Greeks in entertaining Xerxes and his forces — — iii. 229
— halts and encamps at Therma — iii. 235
— names of the Greeks who send him earth and water — — — — iii. 238
— his magnanimity in refusing to take the lives of Sperthies and Bulis, as an atonement for the death of the Persian ambassadors at Sparta — — iii. 243
— orders three Grecian spies to be shewn all his forces, that by their report the Grecians may be induced to submit — — — iii. 252
— his reason for not seizing some provisions of the Greeks — — — — iii. 253
claims kindred with the Argives — iii. 256
prevails on the Argives to withhold their assistance from the Lacedæmonians — — iii. 256
takes three Greek vessels at Sciathus — iii. 286
number of his fleet and army — iii. 289
his grace and dignity of person — iii. 292
station of his fleet on the coast of Magnesia — iii. 292
his fleet sustains a considerable loss by a storm iii. 292

Xerxes,

Xerxes, ſon of Darius, fifteen of his veſſels, through miſtake, ſail into the midſt of the Greek veſſels at Artemiſium, and are taken by them — — iii. 298
— the reſt of his fleet arrive at Aphetæ — iii. 299
— arrives with his land forces in the territories of the Melians — — — iii. 299
— encamps at Trachinia in Melis — iii. 303
— his expedition to Greece and his return, well expreſſed by the words of Ezekiel, repreſenting Gog's army and its deſtruction — — iii. 305, n.
— endeavours to gain the paſs of Thermopylæ, without ſucceſs, and with a prodigious loſs of men iii. 311
— is ſhewn a path over the mountain to Thermopylæ iii. 313
— defeats the Greeks at Thermopylæ — iii. 320
— after the engagement at Thermopylæ, goes to view the dead, and treats the body of Leonidas with barbarity — — — iii. 335
— his fleet engages with that of the Greeks, and loſes thirty ſhips, iii. 345; is diſtreſſed by a ſtorm, iii. 346; again engages the Greeks, when both fleets retire iii. 348
— on the retreat of the Greeks from Artemiſium, his whole fleet ſails thither, proceeds to Hiſtiæa, takes poſſeſſion of the city, and over-runs part of Hellopia and all the coaſt of Hiſtiæotis — — iii. 353
— conceals from his army the real number of the ſlain at Thermopylæ — — iii. 353
— with his army, over-runs Phocis — iii. 360
— his army divided into two bodies, one of which proceeds towards Athens, the other to Delphi — iii. 361
— his army, approaching to plunder the temple of Delphi, are deterred by prodigies, and in their flight loſe a great number of men, iii. 364; penetrate Attica, and burn all before them, iii. 373; take and ſet fire to the citadel of Athens — — iii. 376
— orders the Athenian exiles to go to the citadel, and there ſacrifice according to the cuſtom of their country — — — — iii. 376
— the defeat of his army inferred by Dicæus from a [illegible]ro-digy — — — [illegible] 3[illegible]4

Xerxes, son of Darius, his naval troops paſs from Trachis to Hiſtiæa, and thence to Phalerum — iii. 387
— is joined by ſeveral reinforcements from thoſe nations which had not yet declared for him — iii. 388
— viſits his fleet in perſon, iii. 389; and enquires of the ſeveral commanders, whether they are willing to engage the enemy — — — iii. 390
— reſolves to be a ſpectator of the battle of Salamis iii. 393
— his land forces advance to the Peloponneſe — iii. 394
— loſes a great part of his fleet in an engagement with the Greeks at Salamis — — iii. 404, 406
— is deceived by a ſtratagem of Artemiſia into a favourable opinion of her — — — iii. 406
— great numbers of his men drowned at Salamis iii. 409
— puts to death ſeveral Phœnicians, who had accuſed the Ionians of perfidy — — iii. 409
— views the battle of Salamis from mount Ægaleos iii. 410
— his remaining ſhips fly to Phalerum, and join the land forces — — — iii. 412
— after the battle of Salamis, determines on flight, iii. 415; yet makes ſeeming preparations for another naval engagement — — — iii. 415
— ſends a meſſenger to Perſia with intelligence of his defeat at Salamis — — — iii. 416
— reſolves to return to Perſia, leaving the conduct of the Grecian war with Mardonius, iii. 422; and retreats — — — — iii. 426
— promiſes the Lacedæmonians a ſatisfaction for the death of Leonidas — — — iii. 432
— arrives at the Helleſpont — — iii. 433
— loſes numbers of his troops by ſickneſs — iii. 433
— arrives at Sardis — — iii. 434
— ſtory of his conduct during a ſtorm in his retreat iii. 434
— makes a treaty of friendſhip with the people of Abdera — — — — iii. 436
— is informed by Themiſtocles of the reſolution of the Athenians not to purſue him in his retreat, iii. 429; this matter differently related by Plutarch iii. 429, n.
— [illegible]ches himſelf to the wife of Maſiſtes — iv. 92

Xerxes, ſon of Darius, marries his ſon Darius to the daughter of Maſiſtes — — — iv. 93
— connects himſelf with Artaynta, the wife of his ſon iv. 93
— his intrigue with Artaynta diſcovered by his wife Ameſtris — — — — iv. 93

Y.

Y, the letter, in an epigram imputed to Virgil, intimated a ſyſtematic attachment to virtue — ii. 296, n.
Year, firſt divided by the Ægyptians — i. 218

Z.

Zacynthus, its tar ſprings — — ii. 353, n.
Zamolxis, eſteemed a god by the Thracians — ii. 266
— a man who lived three years in a ſubterranean edifice — — — — ii. 267
Zancle, why ſo called — — iii. 22, n.
Zancleans invite the Ionians to Calacte, wiſhing to found there an Ionian city — — iii. 20
— under the conduct of Scythes, lay cloſe ſiege to a Sicilian city — — — iii. 22
— to recover their own city, call to their aſſiſtance Hippocrates, prince of Gela, who betrays them to the Samians — — — — iii. 24
Zante, its tar ſprings — — ii. 353, n. 365
Zaueces, their women guide the chariots of war — ii. 352
Zea, a kind of corn, the principal diet in Ægypt — i. 257
Zopyrus, ſon of Megabyzus, mutilates himſelf, in order to effect the capture of Babylon — — ii. 171
— takes Babylon by ſtratagem, ii. 176; and is rewarded by Darius — — — ii. 177
— his daughter violated by Sataſpes — ii. 217
Zoroaſter, the founder of the doctrine of two principles — — — — ii. 94, n.
Zygantes have abundance of honey; ſtain their bodies with vermilion; feed upon monkies — ii. 353

FINIS.

Scythians, returning from Media, are oppoſed by their ſlaves, but repel them with whips — — ii. 183
— their own account of their origin — ii. 184
— account of their origin according to the Greeks of Pontus — — — ii. 186
— other accounts of their origin — ii. 190, 191
— a barbarous people — — ii. 222
— their wiſdom in conſtantly abiding in waggons ii. 223
— ſupport themſelves by their cattle — ii. 223
— habitation of a modern Scythian deſcribed ii. 224, n.
— their laws — — ii. 224, n.
— their divinities — — — ii. 232
— their mode of ſacrifice — — ii. 232
— keep no ſwine — — — ii. 236
— their military cuſtoms — — ii. 236
— every one drinks the blood of the firſt perſon he ſlays — — — — ii. 236
— preſent the heads of the enemies they kill to the king — — — — ii. 236
— their mode of ſcalping — — ii. 236
— their uſe of human ſkins — — ii. 237
— their divinations — — ii. 240
— their alliances — — ii. 243
— mode of burying their kings — — ii. 243
— manner of burying the people in general — ii. 246
— anoint their bodies — — ii. 248
— tenacious of their cuſtoms — — ii. 249
— their numbers — — — ii. 256
— conceiving themſelves unable to repel Darius, apply to their neighbours — — ii. 274
— their connection with the Amazons — ii. 281
— are aſſiſted by a few only of their neighbours againſt Darius — — — ii. 286
— their plan of operations againſt Darius — ii. 287
— the anſwer of their king to the challenge of Darius — — — — ii. 292
— make ſeveral attacks on Darius — ii. 293
— the braying of aſſes greatly diſtreſſes their horſes ii. 294

Scythians send a messenger to Darius with a present ii. 295
— oppose themselves to Darius in battle — ii. 297
— pursue a hare, which ran between their army and that of Darius — — — ii. 297
— pursue Darius, but miss of him — — ii. 299
— are deceived by the Ionians — — ii. 302
— their Nomades, incensed against Darius, advance to the Chersonese, put Miltiades the prince to flight, and retire after an interval of three years — iii. 39
— the madness of Cleomenes imputed to his communication with them — — — iii. 80
— to imitate them, proverbial for intemperate drinking — — — — iii. 80, n. 82
— their virtues and wisdom according to Lucian iv. 142
— supposed the same with the Getæ and Goths iv. 146
Sea, supposed by the Greeks to be incapable of congelation — — — — ii. 203, n.
— said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day at the Euripus — — ii. 445, n.
— in the temple of Erectheus in the citadel of Athens, a cistern — — — iii. 377, n.
— a cistern so called in scripture — iii. 377, n.
Seals cut with a stone by the Æthiopians — iii. 199
Semiramis, her admirable works at Babylon — i. 183
— various opinions of the time when she lived i. 183, n.
— an emblem — — — ii. 173, n.
Senacherib, army of, put to flight by means of mice i. 388
Seneca, his mistake of a passage in Ælian respecting the Sybarites — — — iii. 123, n.
Senegambia — — — ii. 366
Serpents, horses feed on — — — i. 82
— sacred in the vicinity of Thebes — i. 302
— symbolical worship of, in the first ages very extensive — — — — i. 302, n.
— a symbol of the sun — — i. 302, n.
— winged — — — i. 302
— flying, infest Ægypt and Arabia — ii. 128
— their excessive increase prevented by nature — ii. 130
— compelled the Neuri to change their habitations, ii. 276; these no other than the Dibii — iv. 147

Serpents, eaten by the Æthiopian Troglodytæ — ii. 341
— ſmall, in Africa, with a horn — — ii. 351
— a large one ſaid to defend the citadel of Athens iii. 366
Seſamum grows to an immenſe height in Babylonia i. 193
Seſoſtris, king of Ægypt, his exploits — i. 333
— columns erected by him after his victories — i. 333
— ſaid by Valerius Flaccus to have been vanquiſhed by the Getæ — — — i. 334, n.
— the greater part of his pillars not to be found — i. 337
— two figures of him — — i. 337
— returned to Ægypt with an immenſe number of captives — — — — i. 338
— his brother's treachery — — i. 338
— makes canals in Ægypt — — i. 339
— diſtributes the lands in Ægypt — i. 340
— no other monarch of Ægypt maſter of Æthiopia i. 342
— placed figures of himſelf and his family before the temple of Vulcan — — — i. 342
— is ſucceeded by his ſon Pheron — — i. 343
Seſtos, beſieged and taken by the Athenians — iv. 98
Sethos, king of Ægypt, and prieſt of Vulcan, ſucceeds Anyſis — — — — i. 386
— deſerted by his ſoldiers when attacked by Senacherib — — — — i. 387
— encouraged by a viſion, marches to Peluſium, with a party entirely compoſed of tradeſmen and artizans, and is ſucceſsful — — — i. 387
— at his death the Ægyptians choſe twelve kings — i. 396
Severus, the emperor, his ſplendid funeral pile — i. 49, n.
Shade, in all oriental climates, deſirable for ſleep and repaſts — — — — iii. 11.
Shaving the head, practiſed by the Ægyptians from a very early age — — — ii. 13
— a teſtimony of ſorrow — — iii. 18
Sheba, ſuppoſed to be Thebes — — i. 224, n.
Sheep, why the Thebans abſtain from — i. 266
— in Arabia, with an enormous length of tail — ii. 133
Shield, the Carians invented ornaments to, and a handle i. 170

Shield, borrowed by the Greeks from Ægypt — ii. 337
— the Persian bucklers made of osier covered with skin — — — — iv. 56, n.
Ships of the ancients — — — i. 4, n.
— of the Phocæans — — — i. 164
— of burden, how constructed by the Ægyptians i. 327
— ceremony in the ancient mysteries of carrying one about, related to Noah and the deluge — i. 328, n.
— Ægyptian, described — — i. 377
— of the Syphnians painted red — — ii. 68
— of the ancients drawn on shore, whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place — iii. 193, n.
— twenty, sold by the Corinthians to the Athenians iii. 88
— three triremes consecrated by the Greeks after the battle of Salamis — — — iii. 436
Shoes of the ancients — — i. 196, n.
— standing in another's — — iii. 2, n.
Shrew-mice, buried by the Ægyptians — i. 294
Sibylline books, story of — — iv. 33, n.
Sicily, fertile in corn — — iii. 266, n.
— its cheese esteemed — — iii. 266, n.
Sicinnus, sent privately by Themistocles, to inform the leaders of Xerxes' fleet of the consternation and dissentions of the Greeks at Salamis — — iii. 398
Sick, law of the Babylonians concerning — i. 199
— put to death by their relations among the Padæan Indians — — — ii. 118
— among certain Indians retire to some solitude ii. 119
Signals in battle, art of making them brought to great perfection — — — iii. 114, n.
— various kinds of — — — — iii. 341, n.
Sigynæ, their horses not able to carry a man — ii. 375
Sileni, the elder satyrs — — iii. 449, n.
Silphium — — — ii. 328, n.
Silver, its proportion to gold in the time of Herodotus — — — — i. 18, n.
— not used by the Massagetæ — — i. 212
— the Spartans not allowed to have any — ii. 167, n.
— none possessed by the Scythians — — ii. 244

Simonides, of Ceos — — — ii. 476
— his memorable ſaying concerning God — ii. 476, n.
Simonides, of Chios, the inventor of local memory i. 304, n.
Simonides, ſon of Leoprepis — — iii. 325
Simplicity of manners, in the eaſt, ſimilar in ancient and modern times — — — iii. 448, n.
Sinope, various accounts of — — ii. 191, n.
Siphnos, its riches — — — ii. 66
— its preſent ſtate — — — ii. 66, n.
Siſamnes, put to death by Cambyſes for corruption in his office of judge — — — ii. 389
Skin of a man, uſed by many Scythians as a covering to their horſes — — — ii. 237
— punctures on, a mark of nobility with the Thracians — — — — ii. 372
— of Siſamnes, found guilty of corruption, fixed over the tribunal at which he had preſided — ii. 389
Skins of animals, dreſſes made of them, of the higheſt antiquity — — — i. 73, n.
— were anciently prizes at games — i. 321, n.
— uſed for books, inſtead of the biblos — ii. 425
— of ſacrificed animals aſſigned by the Spartans to their princes in war — — — iii. 51
Skulls of the Ægyptians hard, of the Perſians ſoft ii. 13
— of enemies made uſe of as drinking-cups by the Scythians — — — — ii. 237
— the veins of, burnt by the African ſhepherds at the age of four years — — — ii. 344
— letters inſcribed upon the ſkull of a ſlave by Hiſtiæus — — — — ii. 398
— inſtance of one without a ſuture — iv. 75, and n.
Slaves, why deprived of ſight by the Scythians ii. 181
— their cruel treatment at Rome — ii. 181, n.
— particulars concerning — — ii. 411, n.
— uſurp the government of Argos, and after a tedious war with their maſters, are ſubdued — iii. 79
— the firſt, were captives in war — iii. 97, n.
— Ionian female, celebrated for their graces and accompliſhments — — — iii. 428, n.

Sleeping, after dinner, an invariable cuſtom in warmer climates — — — — i. 62, n.
— a race of men ſaid to live beyond Scythia, who ſleep away ſix months of the year — — ii. 201
Smerdis, put to death by his brother Cambyſes — ii. 37
— by Æſchylus is called Merdis — — iv. 135
Smerdis, the magus, is placed on the throne of Cambyſes — — — — ii. 72
— pretending to be Smerdis, the ſon of Cyrus, reigns ſeven months after the death of Cambyſes — ii. 80
— the Artaxerxes in Ezra, who obſtructed the work of the temple — — — ii. 82, n.
— diſcovered to be not the ſon of Cyrus — ii. 84
— is ſlain with his brother — — ii. 93
Smindyrides, ſon of Hippocrates, a Sybarite, eminent for his refined luxury — — iii. 122
Smyrna, Gyges carries his arms againſt — i. 19
— how loſt by the Æolians — — i. 154
Sneezing, conſidered as an auſpicious omen — iii. 105, n.
— a cuſtom with the Latins, when any one ſneezed, to cry, "Save you!" — — iii. 105, n.
Snow, deſcribed by falling feathers — ii. 186. 207
Soldiers receive the higheſt honours, even in the leaſt refined nations — — — i. 419
— and prieſts, the only ranks honourably diſtinguiſhed in Ægypt — — — i. 420
Soli, taken by the Perſians after a five months ſiege ii. 484
Solomon, the quantity of gold employed by him in overlaying the ſanctum ſanctorum of the temple iii. 167, n.
— quantity of gold which he had in one year from Ophir — — — — iii. 167, n.
Solon reſorts to Sardis — — i. 29
— is kindly received by Crœſus — — i. 30
— his ſentiments on happineſs — — i. 31
— is diſmiſſed by Crœſus with indifference — i. 35
— his converſation with Æſop — — i. 35, n.
— his reply to Crœſus, recollected by the latter in captivity — — — — i. 91
— their converſation related by Plutarch — i. 91, n.
— celebrates Philocyprus in verſe — — ii. 483

Solon, his deſign entirely the reverſe of that of Lycurgus — — — — iii. 332, n.
Song, ancient Ægyptian — — i. 309
— Grecian, called Linus — — i. 309, n. 310
— in Greece, ſuppoſed to have preceded the uſe of letters — — — — i. 309, n.
— an original Caribbean ſong — — i. 310, n.
— an American war-ſong — — ii. 236, n.
Soothſayers, an animated fragment of Ennius againſt ii. 240, n.
Sophanes, ſon of Eutychides, moſt eminent of the Athenians at the battle of Platæa — — iv. 64
— kills Eurybates in ſingle combat — — iv. 66
— ſlain by the Edonians, in a conteſt about ſome gold mines — — — — — iv. 67
Sophocles, anecdote of, at the rejoicings on the victory of Salamis — — — iii. 414, n.
Soſicles, his ſpeech to the Lacedæmonians in favour of liberty — — — — ii. 459
Soſtrates, moſt fortunate of the Greeks in commerce ii. 314
Soul, the Ægyptians firſt defended its immortality i. 360
— various opinions concerning it — i. 360, n.
— metempſychoſis — — — i. 361
Spaco, wife of Mitridates, ſaves the life of Cyrus i. 116
Spartans. See *Lacedæmonians*.
Speech of Cyrus to the Ionians and Æolians — i. 145
——— Cyrus to a Lacedæmonian ambaſſador i. 156
——— Cambyſes to the Perſians, previous to his death — — — — ii. 76
——— Darius and Otanes to the reſt of the conſpirators againſt the magi — — ii. 84, 85
——— Gobryas againſt the magi — ii. 87
——— Otanes in favour of a republic — ii. 96
——— Megabyzus in favour of an oligarchy — ii. 98
——— Darius in favour of a monarchy — ii. 100
——— Coes to Darius — — ii. 268
——— the Scythian ambaſſadors to their neighbours aſſembled in council, on the approach of Darius ii. 285
——— Indathyrſus to the ambaſſador of Darius ii. 292
——— Gobryas to the Perſians — ii. 296
——— Hiſtiæus to the Scythians — ii. 302

Speech of Ariſtagoras to Cleomenes — ii. 410
——— the Spartans to Hippias, and the repreſentatives of their Grecian allies — — ii. 458
——— Soſicles to the Spartans — — ii. 459
——— Darius to Hiſtiæus — — ii. 478
——— Hiſtiæus to Darius — — ii. 478
——— the Perſian commanders to the Ionian princes depoſed by Ariſtagoras — — iii. 6
——— Dionyſius to the Ionians at Lade — iii. 8
——— Leutychides to the Athenians — iii. 83
——— Cliſthenes to the ſuitors of his daughter Agariſta — — — — iii. 127
——— Xerxes on a war with Greece — iii. 143
——— Mardonius on a war with Greece — iii. 146
——— Xerxes to Artabanus — iii. 183. 185. 187
——— Artabanus to Xerxes iii. 148. 182. 184. 186
——— Xerxes to the Perſians — — iii. 188
——— Harmocydes to the Phoceans — iv. 16
——— the Tegeans, on a diſpute with the Athenians, reſpecting their ſtation in the Grecian army at Platæa, iv. 23; and of the Athenians on the ſame ſubject iv. 25
——— Alexander to the Athenian commanders iv. 41
——— Pauſanias to the Athenian chiefs — iv. 43
——— Mardonius to the Spartans — iv. 44
——— Mardonius to Thorax, Eurypilus, and Thraſydeius — — — — iv. 52
——— Pauſanias to the Athenians — iv. 54
——— Lampon to Pauſanias — — iv. 69
——— Pauſanias to Lampon — — iv. 70
Spelt, Ægyptian bread made with — i. 257. 306
Sperthies and Bulis preſent themſelves before Xerxes, to make atonement for the death of the Perſian ambaſſadors — — — — iii. 241
— refuſe to proſtrate themſelves before Xerxes, and are diſmiſſed by him — — iii. 343
Sphinxes, a type of the Ægyptian theology — i. 426, n.
Spies, always treated by all nations in the ſame manner — — — — iii. 252, n.
— their office in Homer's time not infamous iii. 252, n.

Spitting,

Spitting, in the preſence of another, deemed an act of indecency — — — i. 107
Squares, large public ones for trade among the Greeks i. 156
Stadium, an Ægyptian meaſure — i. 224. 365
Stag, never ſeen in Africa — — ii. 352
Statues, the Perſians have none — — i. 134
— one of a woman in gold, three cubits high, at Delphi — — — — i. 51
— firſt engraved on ſtone by the Ægyptians — i. 219
— of Iſis — — — i. 265
— of Io — — — i. 265
— Ægyptian, of Jupiter — — — i. 267
— of Pan — — — i. 271
— of Summer and Winter — — i. 354
— coloſſal, at Memphis and Sais — — i. 428
— of Vulcan — — — ii. 44
— equeſtrian, of Darius — — ii. 108
— of Damia and Auxeſia — — ii. 450
— of Jupiter, at Delphi — — iv. 73
— of Neptune, at Delphi — — iv. 73
Sterility, a reproach among the orientals — i. 140, n.
Steſagoras, ſon of Cimon, ſucceeds to the authority and wealth of Miltiades — — iii. 36
— dies of a wound in the head, received in the Prytaneum — — — — iii. 37
Steſicrates, his propoſal to convert mount Athos into a ſtatue of Alexander — — i. 409, n.
Steſileus, ſon of Thraſylus, ſlain in the battle of Marathon — — — — iii. 112
Stone, the ſhrine of Latona at Butos, of one enormous ſolid ſtone — — — i. 408
Stones, precious, the exquiſite performances of the ancients on them, never equalled by the moderns ii. 50, n.
Stoning to death, an ancient puniſhment, and ſtill inflicted in Abyſſinia — — — iv. 4, n.
Storax, two ſpecies imported to Europe — ii. 128, n.
Storm of three days on the coaſt of Magneſia, does conſiderable damage to the fleet of Xerxes — iii. 292

Stratagem,

Stratagem, employed by Cyrus, to induce the Perſians to revolt from the Medes — — i. 129
— employed by Darius againſt the Scythians — ii. 298
— employed by Amaſis at the ſiege of Barce — ii. 358
— by Pigies and Mantyes, to obtain the government of Pæonia — — — ii. 377
— of Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, againſt the ſeven Perſians ſent by Megabyzus, to demand of Amyntas earth and water — — — ii. 385
— of Hiſtiæus, for conveying his intentions ſecretly ii. 398
— of Cleomenes againſt the Theſſalians — ii. 431, n.
— of Miltiades, the ſon of Cimon, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Cherſoneſe — — iii. 38
— of Cleomenes againſt the Argives — iii. 76
— of the Phoceans againſt the Theſſalians iii. 356. 357
— of Artemiſia, at the battle of Salamis — iii. 407
— of Leutychides, to encourage the Greeks againſt the Perſians at Mycale — — iv. 87, n.
— of a Roman general after a long ſiege — iv. 107
Strattes, tyrant of Chios, his death concerted, but not accompliſhed — — — iii. 443
Strength of body, a principal recommendation to honour in early ages — — ii. 24, n.
Strymon, the river, celebrated by ancient writers i. 63, n.
Styx, particulars relating to the waters of — iii. 70, n.
Subſiſtence, every Ægyptian compelled annually to ſhew his means of — — — i. 429
Succeſſion, hereditary, its principle univerſal, but its order various — — iii. 137, n.
Sun, adored by the Perſians — — i. 135
— the great god of the Maſſagetæ — — i. 210
— horſes ſacrificed to, by the Maſſagetæ — i. 213
— the overflowing of the Nile, attributed to — i. 242
— two obeliſks ſent by Pheron to the temple of i. 344
— ſaid by the Ægyptians to have four times deviated from his ordinary courſe — i. 390. iv. 129
— the chief of the gods, in the ancient mythology of Ægypt — — — — i. 394, n.

Sun.

Sun, table of, in Æthiopia — — ii. 21
— the beetle, an emblem of — — ii. 36, n.
— with the Indians, hotter and more vertical in the morning than at noon — — — ii. 124
— fountain of — — — ii. 339
— all fountains originally dedicated to — ii. 339, n.
— execrated by the Atlantes — — ii. 342
— adored by all the Africans — — ii. 345
— temple of — — — ii. 365
— ſuppoſed by the ancients to have the power of turning aſide any evils, which the night might have menaced — — — — ii. 420, n.
— eclipſed at the departure of Xerxes' army from Abydos againſt Greece — — iii. 175
— the tutelar deity of Greece — — iii. 175
— his acceſs and receſs repreſented by the Phrygian rites in honour of Adonis — — iv. 9, n.
— ſheep ſacred to, in Apollonia — — iv. 81
Superſtition, frequent inſtances in ancient hiſtory of intemperate but artful men's availing themſelves of it iii. 66, n.
— Athenian — — — iv. 170
Suppliants, their rights ſimilar to thoſe of hoſpitality among the ancients — — iii. 19, n.
Surgery, the ancients had no contemptible knowledge of — — — — i. 314, n.
Surplice, probable riſe of — — i. 311, n.
Suſa, its diſtance from Sardis — — ii. 417
— the city of Memnon — — ii. 418. iii. 258
Swallows never migrate from Ægypt — i. 241
Sweeping, a mode of taking iſlands, practiſed by the Perſians — — — — iii. 31
Swift, Dean, his opinion of Herodotus — iii. 37, n.
— Dr. Jortin's opinion of his learning — iv. 153
Swiftneſs, inſtances of, in Pliny — — iii. 103, n.
Swimming, the art of, a material part of youthful education amongſt the Greeks and Romans iii. 408, n.
— the Ægyptians expert and graceful in — iii. 409, n.
Swine, how uſed by the Ægyptians for the purpoſes of huſbandry — — — i. 231

Swine, facrificed by the Ægyptians — — i. 271
— regarded by the Ægyptians as unclean — i. 272
— Plutarch's explanation of the Jews' diflike to i. 272, n.
— offered by the Ægyptians to Bacchus and Luna i. 273
— not permitted by the Scythians to be kept in their country — — — ii. 236
— never bred by the Africans, from Ægypt as far as lake Tritonis — — — ii. 343
— the women of Barce abftain from the flefh of ii. 344
Swords, at firft of brafs — — ii. 75, n.
— more anciently worn over the fhoulder — ii. 75, n.
— two worn by the Romans — — ii. 75, n.
Sybaris, taken by the inhabitants of Crotona, affifted by Dorieus — — — ii. 406
Sybarites, their effeminacy — — ii. 406, n.
— their ingratitude to the Milefians — iii. 17
Sylofon, of Samos, gives Darius a cloak, ii. 161; in return for which Darius gives him Samos — ii. 163
Symbols, ufed by the ancients, of their refpective deities — — — — iv. 112
Syracufe, poffeffed by Gelon — — iii. 263
Syria, the name of Cappadocia — — i. 9
Syrians, almoft exterminated by Crœfus — i. 80
— conquered by Necos near Magdolum — i. 413
Syrtes, well defcribed by Lucan — — ii. 329, n.

T.

Table, pofture of the ancients at — iv. 14, n.
Talent, particulars concerning the different weights of — — — — ii. 108, n.
— the Babylonian compared with the Euboic ii. 114
Talthybius, herald of Agamemnon — iii. 239
— his temple at Sparta; his pofterity honoured iii. 240
Tanagra, battle at, between the Spartans, Athenians, and Argives — — — iv. 35

Tanagræi, their country famous for fighting-cocks ii. 448, n.
Tanais, the river, its rise and course — — ii. 231
— whence so called — — ii. 231, n.
Tar, springs of, in Zacynthus in Africa ii. 354, n. 364
— of Pieria — — — ii. 354
Tarentines, their severe defeat by the Cretans — iii. 279
Targitaus, the first inhabitant of Scythia — ii. 184
Tarsus, of Cilicia, the first commercial power in that part of Asia — — — iii. 392, n.
Tartars, their habitations described — ii. 224, n.
Tattaowing, a custom of great antiquity — ii. 372, n.
Tauri, distinguished by peculiar customs — ii. 275
Tauris, inhumanity practised at — — iv. 101, n.
Taurus, mount, whence its name — iv. 139
Tears, checked by extreme affliction, finely expressed by Shakespeare — — ii. 16, n.
Tearus, the river, its waters a remedy for several diseases — — — — ii. 264
— a column erected by Darius at — ii. 264
Teeth, of one entire bone — — iv. 75, and n.
Tegeans conquer the Lacedæmonians — i. 68
— unsuccessful after the discovery of the body of Orestes i. 72
— dispute between them and the Athenians — iv. 23
Teians, their city taken by Harpagus, commander of the army of Cyrus — — — i. 168
— pass into Thrace, and build Abdera — i. 168
Telamon, invoked by the Greeks at Salamis — iii. 384
Telines obtains to his posterity the honour of being ministers of the infernal deities — — iii. 261
Tell, William, remarkable story of — ii. 41, n.
Tellias, of Eleum, the soothsayer, his stratagem against the Phoceans — — — ii. 356
Tellus, the Athenian, deemed the most happy, by Solon i. 31
Tellus, the wife of Jupiter — ii. 232. iv. 142
Telmessus, son of Apollo, his priests — — i. 82
Temple of Æacus — — ii. 457
——— Amphiaraus — — iii. 445
——— Andocrates — — iv. 23

Temple

Temple of Apollo Triopean — — i. 148
———— at Pataræ — — i. 182, n.
———— at Delos — — i. 182, n.
———— at Butos — — i. 408
———— erected by the Milesians — i. 430
———— Ismenian — — ii. 425
———— Didymean — — iii. 16
———— at Abas — — iii. 360
———— at Delphi — — iii. 363
———— Ptous — — iii. 445
——— at Athens — — — ii. 446
——— of Bacchus, at Byzantium — — ii. 262
——— Ceres, on the Hippoleon promontory ii. 230
———— Thesmophoros, at Paros — iii. 109
——— Cybele, at Sardis, burnt — ii. 475
——— Diana, at Butos — — i. 408
——— Dictynna, in Cydonia — — ii. 68
——— Erectheus — — iii. 376
——— the Furies of Laius and Œdipus — ii. 310
——— the Greeks, called Hellenium — i. 430
——— Juno, at Samos — — i. 430. 434
——— Jupiter Carian, at Mylassa — i. 171
———— Osogus — — i. 171, n.
———— Belus, at Babylon — i. 180
———— Thebean — — i. 181
———— Olympus, at Pisa — — i. 222
———— by the Æginetæ — — i. 430
——— Latona, at Butos — — i. 405. 408
——— Mercury, at Bubastis — — i. 384
——— Minerva Assesian — — i. 22
———— Pallenian — — i. 62
———— Alean — — i. 68
———— at Lindus — — i. 432
———— Craftian — — ii. 407
———— at Sigeum — — ii. 469
———— Pronea — — iii. 363
———— Sciras — — iii. 413
——— Neptune Erecthean — — iii. 376, n.

Tem-

Temple of Neptune Hippias — — iii. 377, n.
——— Pan, on mount Parthenius — iii. 100, n.
——— ——— at Athens — — iii. 101
——— Protesilaus, in Ælæos — — iii. 170
——— Thyia — — iii. 285
——— Venus Celestial, at Ascalon — i. 111
——— ——— Cyprian — — i. 111
——— ——— Cytherean — — i. 111
——— ——— the Stranger — — i. 345
——— Vulcan — — i. 342
Temples, the Persians have none — — i. 134
— oracular, mostly situated on mountains — i. 135, n.
— division of the ancient — — i. 180, n.
— first erected by the Ægyptians — — i. 219
Terillus brings an army of three hundred thousand men into Sicily, under the command of Amilcar, against Gelon — — — — iii. 272
Thales, the Milesian, foretells an eclipse — i. 77
— assists Crœsus in constructing a bridge over the river Halys — — — i. 79
— his advice to the Ionians — — i. 169
Thasians, reduced by Mardonius — — iii. 41
— ordered by Darius to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera — — iii. 43
— their riches — — — iii. 43
Thasus, besieged by Histiæus — — iii. 28
Theasides, son of Leopropis, dissuades the emissaries of the Æginetæ from taking with them Leutychides, whom the Lacedæmonians had agreed to deliver up iii. 82
Thebans, of Ægypt, why they abstain from sheep i. 266
Thebans, of Bœotia, desirous of revenge on the Athenians, consult the oracle — — ii. 447
commence hostilities with the Athenians — ii. 449
the Athenians assist the Platæans against — iii. 107
limits determined between the Thebans and Platæans — — — — iii. 108
though hostile to the Greeks, send them assistance against Xerxes — — — iii. 307

Thebans, of Bœotia, ſeeing the Perſians victorious at Thermopylæ, ſeparate from the Greeks, and preſerve their lives — — — iii. 327
— Amphiaraus their ally — — iii. 445
— beſieged by the Greeks — — iv. 77
Thebes, formerly the name of Ægypt — i. 233
Thebes, in Ægypt — — — i. 224
— ſuppoſed to be the Sheba of the ſcriptures i. 224, n.
— rain a prodigy at — — ii. 11
— image of Jupiter there — — ii. 339
Themiſtocles, ſon of Neocles, adviſes the Athenians to prepare for a naval engagement with Xerxes — iii. 249
— commands the Athenians againſt Xerxes — iii. 281
— is engaged by the Eubœans to riſk the event of a battle at Eubœa with the Barbarians — iii. 340
— endeavours to detach the Ionians and Carians from the army of Xerxes — — — iii. 350
— the cauſe of ſeveral pretended miracles iii. 366, n.
— his artifice to procure money for providing a complement of men for the Grecian fleet — iii. 382, n.
— prevails on Eurybiades, the commander of the Grecian fleet at Salamis, to ſtay and fight there — iii. 383
— ſends Sicinnus to the fleet of Xerxes, and informs their leaders of the conſternation and diſſenſions of the Greeks at Salamis — — iii. 398
— for the ſake of his country, confers with his particular enemy, Ariſtides — — iii. 401
— reproached by Polycritus — — iii. 411
— diſſuades the Athenians from purſuing Xerxes in his retreat — — — iii. 427
— in the habit of an Ionian female ſlave, eſcaped from the fury of his incenſed countrymen — iii. 428, n.
— diſpatches meſſengers to Xerxes, who inform him of the reſolution of the Athenians not to purſue him in his retreat, iii. 429; this matter differently related by Plutarch — — — iii. 429, n.
— without the knowledge of the other Grecian leaders, extorts large ſums from the iſlanders — iii. 430